

Cultural Practices and Material Culture in Archaic and Classical Crete

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Edited by
Oliver Pilz and Gunnar Seelentag

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Gunnar Seelentag and Oliver Pilz

Introduction

This volume contains the contributions presented at the conference “A New Picture of Archaic and Classical Crete: Cultural Practices and Material Culture in the 6th and 5th Centuries BCE”, which took place on May 20 and 21, 2011 at the Johannes Gutenberg Universität in Mainz. For the first time, historians and archaeologists, epigraphers and legal historians came together to jointly analyze the important processes of structural change that occurred in Cretan *poleis* during the Archaic and Classical periods.

Since the authors come from different disciplines and are connected to a variety of academic traditions, they choose different kinds of methodological approaches and favor different sources for their analysis of the cultural practices characteristic to Crete, i.e. archaeological data as well as epigraphic evidence and literary sources. And yet they are able to unite the research approaches of their respective disciplines through a unified perspective and follow the common focus of the conference. They thereby offer a new picture of Archaic and Classical Crete – one of the most important case studies of the “Third Greece.”

Between the 8th and 6th centuries BCE, Crete gave Greek culture many impulses. The Daedalic style, for example, originates from here as well as the cultural practices of erecting monumental statues and decorating cult buildings with sculptures. The proximity of the island to Egypt and the Near East allowed the Cretan elites of this period relatively easy access to so-called luxury goods. The valuable votive offerings in the important sanctuaries of the island enable us to reconstruct the picture of a society whose elites were trying to competitively set themselves apart from each other at great expense. Along the same lines, this is also indicated by the graves in numerous Cretan necropoleis from the Geometric and Early Archaic periods, which are richly furnished.

At the end of the 7th century, however, we observe a considerable change in the material culture at the majority of the sites on the island: an austerity or even an “impoverishment”, which caused scholarship to speak of an “Archaic gap” for Knossos in the time period from approximately 580–520 BCE. For instance, in comparison to other parts of the Greek world, Crete imported a relatively small amount of pottery with figural decoration from Corinth or Athens. Black-glazed imported vases from Laconia alone are accounted for in significant amounts in Archaic and Classical Crete. From this time on, the island additionally provided hardly any examples of visual narratives and samples of “private” writing: Cretan vessels were not decorated with scenes from the epic cycle, and we neither find the use of writing on these vessels, as for instance in the form of ownership inscriptions, nor on grave stelae or dedications, for example weapons taken in war as booty, with which the dedicator might have referred to his merits. In general, we know of hardly any graves on the island that are still richly furnished in the 6th and 5th centuries, and

with few exceptions valuable votives were no longer dedicated in the sanctuaries of the island, as had been the case in the previous centuries. One cannot emphasize enough how unusual these conditions are, which considerably distinguish Crete from the rest of the entire Greek world.

In the past, scholars searched time and again for explanations for this striking feature. It was assumed, for example, that because scholarship was concentrated on the Minoan and early Iron Age phases of the island, far too little attention was bestowed on the material culture of the Archaic and Classical periods. To a certain extent, this is surely true. However – and this is one of the most striking facets of this specifically Cretan situation – since the beginning of the 6th century, Cretans also dedicated hardly any votive offerings in the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of the Greek mainland or the islands; and we are only aware of a handful of Cretan victors in the Pan-Hellenic games from multiple centuries. Furthermore, the Cretan *poleis* had hardly founded any colonies, nor did they partake in the great wars of the 5th century, against the Persians and the Peloponnesian War. Archaic and Classical Crete is largely invisible in the culture and politics of the Mediterranean.

Therefore, it was alternatively assumed that the island was afflicted by a catastrophe, for example a famine, which led to the depopulation of Crete; or that a commercial blockade was placed on Crete; or that the island used up its artistic innovative power and was simply “burnt-out.” None of these explanations for the phenomenon are convincing¹. Only recently, studies have convincingly shown that the “Archaic gap” is primarily a question of visibility, a question of uncovering the remains of the Archaic-Classical period, which also poses the challenge of dating these in a methodically sound way. Researchers are only now beginning to identify the evidence of Crete’s material culture after 600². Their studies make it clear that whatever we observe is in no way a disappearance of the island’s material legacy, but rather a sign of simplification.

An example of this is that the diverse forms and decorations of pottery vessels, which we still observe for the 7th century, were replaced by a considerably limited spectrum of vessels and ornaments. From around 600 onward, the Cretans drank mostly out of black-glazed cups instead of elaborate symposium pottery. Furthermore, we have a type of source from Crete at our disposal that is unique to Archaic and Classical Greece in this concentration, and it shows us that there is no question of a decline of Cretan *poleis* in these centuries: an abundance of monumental inscriptions, which had been exhibited in public spaces since the 7th century, often on buildings in which a cult was maintained. These inscriptions offer no evidence of a catastrophe or some kind of deterioration of Cretan *polis* society.

¹ Morris 1998, esp. 59–68; Whitley 2009; Wallace 2010, 327–347, and Erickson 2010, esp. 1–22, offer an overview of these phenomena and their previous treatment in the scholarship.

² This is especially exemplified in Erickson 2010 und Wallace 2010.

More to the point, these texts allow us insight into a society which differed considerably from other Greek societies. At best, it appears to have a certain similarity to the sociopolitical and artistic development of Archaic Sparta³. In these inscriptions, we see the image of a strictly stratified society. A class of citizens ruled over a large number of serfs and slaves. From an early age, the citizens were organized in an age class system. As youths, they were subjected to a public military education in small groups that, in turn, were assembled according to performance; as adults they regularly came together for communal meals. Significant topics of the inscriptions are, for example, the governance of institutions, the regulation of the transfer of property – possibly for the purpose of maintaining as many citizens as possible in the *polis* – and the structured interaction with the “others”, free foreigners, slaves and serfs.

Regarding the notable material evidence from Archaic and Classical Crete described above, it is important to note that the change in material culture on the island, which started around 630 and can be observed a few decades later especially in Central and Eastern Crete, has previously been described primarily out of context and has never been analyzed in regard to the underlying social phenomena. In the past, it was too rarely noted that material culture is ultimately the manifestation of cultural practices and that accordingly the change in material culture that is observed on Crete reflects a change in cultural practices.

The special features of Crete that are observed in the material culture can thus be summarized as forms of expression regarding one social phenomenon: the nearly complete invisibility of the elite individual in the preserved sources. For by means of the cultural practices listed above, e.g. partaking in sympotic culture and athletic *agon* at the Pan-Hellenic games, *aristoi* in the rest of Greece displayed their status⁴. A Cretan *aristos*, however, did not step forward before the eyes of his political community, neither by displaying his own wealth nor any of his personal achievements, which would have benefited his fame alone and not his *polis* or fellow citizens⁵.

The changes in material culture that can be observed at the end of the 7th century are therefore essentially the reflection of an advancing change in cultural practices. In this change, an altered relationship of the individual to his society finds its symbolic *and* material reflection. The negotiation of how social differences should be represented appears to be more strongly regulated in the Cretan *poleis* than anywhere else. This seems to be based on the conscious decision in a number of Cretan *poleis* to react to the challenges of this period, which we can also observe – beginning around the same time – in other regions of Greece⁶.

3 The scholarship on Sparta and the “austerity” of Laconic artistic production offers a panorama of explanatory approaches and models that could also be used to examine the corresponding Cretan phenomenon.

4 Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989; Duplouy 2006.

5 Kotsonas 2002; Whitley 2005; 2009; 2010.

6 Hall 2007, esp. 67–92, 119–144, 178–202 may serve as an introduction to this. On the self-destructive potential of sociopolitical communities in Archaic Greek, see Gehrke 1985; van Wees 2008.

The earliest Cretan laws, for example, reflect the conflict between the *aristoi* of the *polis* and the efforts of the *polis* to confront this conflict potential through the transformation of the community. This was accomplished by restructuring the competitive efforts of the elites. These regulations interfered with numerous areas of the citizens' public and private lives, the power of the laws was supposed to support the new social order. Their inscription on communally used buildings in the public sphere of the *polis* was meant to emphasize their normative power for the political community and strengthen the still precarious new institutions.

In addition to the inscriptions, longer passages from literary evidence have been preserved, especially from the 4th century. Diodorus, for example, hands down a local Cretan mythology and, with that, notable evidence of intentional history, in which it is clear that the Cretan *poleis* endeavored to depict themselves as communities established and held together by man-given laws. In addition to this, there are reports from Ephoros and local Cretan historians, which inform us of the considerable and unique social institutions in Cretan society, for example of the structure and social significance of the communal meals, the *paideia*, as well as the ritual kidnapping of the ephebes. And finally, there are passages from Plato's *Laws* and Aristotle's *Politics*, which analyze the sociopolitical organization of the island's polities, which stood right before their eyes. The question in how far these later texts can be exploited for information on the sociopolitical configurations of the Archaic age – for example by checking their consistency with the information gathered from the inscribed laws – became evident as one of the methodological challenges of our conference⁷.

Special attention in the talks and discussions was also dedicated to the question of a structural homogeneity of the different Cretan citizen states in regard to their social and political organization; of the possibilities of and limits to comparing different *poleis* and maybe even consulting the material of one *polis* to supplement the fragmentary data of another *politeia*, which happens to indicate similarities in its sociopolitical organization. Since in previous research, sites from Central Crete have lain at the center of interest, it is only rarely perceived that the "austerity" of the material culture is not equally developed in all parts of the island, but that it is considerably more strongly manifested in Central Crete than in the eastern parts of the island. One of the most important objectives of the conference was therefore to work toward a stronger regional differentiation in the investigation of the material culture.

Eighteen years ago, Hans-Joachim Gehrke stated that Crete is primarily investigated in regard to its Minoan-Mycenaean period, while occupation with the Archaic and Classical periods of the island lies more on the margins of the interests of

7 With regard to the discussion on the usability of these literary texts for a historical reconstruction of Archaic-Classical Crete, see the objections by Perlman 1992 as well as the responses from Link 2002 and 2008 as well as Chaniotis 2005.

ancient history⁸. This statement is still true today – and to the same extent for archaeology as for history. The circle of researchers that deal with these centuries of Cretan history is small; and nevertheless an exchange across the borders of their respective field has only rarely taken place. Therefore, on the one hand, there are still only few specialists who occupy themselves exclusively with selected source types of Cretan culture in individual studies, for example the social practices or the legal inscriptions, the offerings from the Pan-Cretan sanctuaries or the results of settlement archaeology. On the other hand, in greater representations of Archaic Greece, the Cretan evidence mostly fulfills a solely illustrative and comparative function; its origin from a specific cultural context does not play a role in this.

The conference in Mainz was the very first that was dedicated exclusively and specifically to this period of the island – a fascinating path of Greek history, which previously, and despite an abundance of unique material, has not been sufficiently investigated and is not widely known among ancient historians and archaeologists. For this reason, we invited researchers from different disciplines – archaeologists and historians, epigraphists and legal historians – to advance the exchange between these disciplines in order to familiarize the representatives of each field with the questions and knowledge of the others. In this way, we wanted to attain results that are more than just the sum of individual studies, that is, to arrive at a multifaceted view of Archaic and Classical Crete. The collaboration proved to be extremely fruitful. Intensive and controversial discussions of each of the talks and at the margins of the conference shaped our meeting. They let us anticipate further collaboration and projects that extend beyond discipline borders.

It is our intention to visualize this dialogue with this volume. We want to present the culture of the island from the 7th to the 4th centuries BCE from different points of view, to offer both a survey of the current situation and significant perspectives of scholarship on the island's polities. We thereby seek to shift occupation with Crete from the margins increasingly towards the center of our disciplines. Archaic and Classical Crete offers rich material for illustrating and answering questions that stand at the center of scholarship on early Greece – for example, *polis*-formation, the conflict between *aristoi* and *demos* and the political culture of different polities and their reciprocal influence. We firmly believe that the *poleis* of the island for their abundance of available inscriptions as well as their notable material evidence have the potential to be among the most significant case studies of Archaic and Classical Greece.

In the following, the contributions to this volume are briefly outlined. In “Excavations at Azoria and Stratigraphic Evidence for the Restructuring of Cretan Landscapes ca. 600 BCE”, Donald Haggis opposes the idea prevalent in scholarship of a gradual formation of the Cretan *polis* with the model of a relatively sudden “phase transition” at the end of the 7th century BCE. Under the term “phase transition”,

⁸ Gehrke 1997, 23.

Haggis combines a series of phenomena that extend from the establishment of political institutions to the intensification of regional and transregional contact to a clear increase in agricultural production as well as trade. Haggis recognizes an important index for a phase transition in the archaeological data from the settlement of Azoria in Eastern Crete, which he excavated. There, around the end of the 7th century BCE and in the course of a radical planned reorganization of the settlement, a far-reaching restructuring of public and private space can be observed.

“Archaic and Classical Axos” presents results from Eva Tegou’s new field studies in a Cretan *polis*, which was already very important in the Pre-Hellenistic period. Given our previous dearth of knowledge on the settlement forms in Archaic and Classical Crete and the social organization expressed by them, the evidence presented by Tegou is of great importance for an exemplary reconstruction of the history of the island from approximately 600 to 400 BCE. Tegou’s investigations of the topography of the necropoleis and sanctuaries of Axos have contributed greatly to the reconstruction of the spatial organization of this *polis*, which is but rarely mentioned in the literary sources and from which only little – although highly important – epigraphic evidence has been preserved.

In his contribution “Mind the Gap: Knossos and Cretan Archaeology of the 6th Century”, Brice Erickson shows how the perception of the so-called “Archaic gap” has changed considerably in the last few years under the influence of survey archaeology with its focus on longer periods. By looking at Knossos, Erickson argues that this term can certainly be applied meaningfully in this case, since there is a striking lack of archaeological evidence for the period from 590 to 525 BCE. Erickson tentatively connects this lacuna to a destruction of Knossos reported by Strabo, but simultaneously points out the problem of such an approach based on taking information at face value, which is conveyed by later historiographical narratives.

Adam Rabinowitz’s “Drinkers, hosts, or fighters? Masculine identities in pre-Classical Crete” investigates the development of Cretan drinking habits from the Early Iron Age to the Archaic Period and shows that commensal practices were a significant medium for the negotiation of social roles and hierarchies within the communities. For this purpose, he integrates literary and epigraphic sources as well as archaeological evidence against the background of a model inspired by cultural anthropology. He also successfully strives toward a new kind of description and analysis of those practices that scholarship describes simplistically and anachronistically as “the symposium.”

In “An Epic Perspective on Institutionalization in Archaic Crete”, Gunnar Seelentag refers first to a faulty “master narrative” in our description and interpretation of political development in Archaic and Classical Greece, which is based upon a teleology of a road to (Athenian) democracy. According to Seelentag, these established views wrongly favor certain facets of the island’s politics that appear in Cretan laws. As an alternative, regarding the evidence at the center of the discus-

sion on *polis*-formation, he pleads for an interpretation of the development of Cretan institutions against the background of the Homeric and Hesiodic epics. In this way, he develops a model of sociopolitical integration of the elite and *demos* in the *polis*, which became possible through cooperation among the elites – also reflected in the epics.

Using the example of legal regulations from a number of Cretan *poleis*, Karen Rørby Kristensen investigates the specific development of civic identity in these communities in her contribution “Archaic Laws and the Development of Civic Identity in Crete, ca. 650–450 BCE.” Her methodological premise is to analyze the legal inscriptions under consideration of and exclusively in the context of the other material from the respective *polis* that it originates from. In this way, she can show the similarities, but also the significant differences, with regard to the sociopolitical organization of different Cretan communities, which in scholarship are often conjectured to fit a harmonizing model of an allegedly Pan-Cretan *politeia*.

In “‘... there shall be no punishment to them.’ Observance of law and social integration in Sparta and Crete” Stefan Link takes a look at a series of various social fields and practices, which were of considerable importance for the sociopolitical integration of the citizens in Cretan communities. In this case, the comparison of Cretan city-states with Sparta – a *politeia* that scholarship often draws on because of its perceived similarity – is of particular relevance to him. However, Link can show how much Cretan *poleis* differed from Sparta in significant social practices, for example in the set-up of their respective *paideia* and communal meals. In this way, he can attest that in Cretan communities the efforts of the elites toward prominence were successfully directed toward the common wellbeing and therefore socially integrated – which was not the case in Sparta.

“Reading and Writing Archaic Cretan Society” by Paula Perlman describes several fundamental methodological considerations regarding the quality of literary sources from the 4th century BCE for the reconstruction of Archaic and Classical Crete. Following that, on the foundation of epigraphic evidence dated from the 7th to the 5th centuries, she covers the most significant circles of social integration within Cretan communities during that time period. On the basis of this material, she undertakes a critical re-evaluation of Cretan family structures, *phylai*, and *andreia*. In doing so, she corrects established opinions, for example on the supposed relevance of clan structures in the Cretan *poleis*. Her contribution offers an innovative analysis of the preserved names of Cretan *phylai* and months, which Perlman interprets as indicative of the heterogeneity of the island’s population.

Using material from Gortyn as an example, Giovanni Marginesu’s “Use, Re-Use and Erasure of Archaic and Classical Gortynian Inscriptions. An Archaeological Perspective” carefully examines the phenomenon of the reuse of inscribed stones. He especially directs attention to a little noticed building in the field of Mavropapas, which was erected in the Late Archaic–Early Classical period, the outside of which was inscribed with laws just like the Pythion and the predecessor of the

Roman Bouleuterion. Marginesu convincingly interprets this structure, which is located close to the Agora, as a public building, which maintained its function without change possibly into Roman times.

In “Graves and Grave Markers in Archaic and Classical Crete” Katja Sporn offers an overview of Cretan burial practices from the 6th to the 4th century BCE. She first refers to the far-reaching changes at the beginning of this time period. In the course of these changes, the collective cremation burial in chamber tombs, which was predominant in many places, was replaced by inhumation in individual graves. Sporn interprets the relative scarcity of individual grave markers (e.g. figural grave reliefs) against the background of a “middling ideology”, which is seen as an indication for a highly regulated representation of the elite, characteristic of the time period, in which the *polis* took shape.

“Narrative Art in Archaic Crete” by Oliver Pilz deals with the relative scarcity of narrative imagery in Cretan art of the Archaic and Early Classical periods. Based on an analysis of the media of narrative imagery, Pilz shows that the Cretan pictorial habit clearly differs from that of the Greek mainland. While figural painting on vessels represents the most important medium in Attica, for example, on Crete bronze weapons and probably also metal vessels served as the main media for narrative imagery. Since these types of finds are barely “visible” archaeologically, especially in settlement contexts, scholarship has gained the impression that narrative representations are not very pronounced.

Thomas Brisart’s contribution “Isolation, Austerity and Fancy Pottery. Acquiring and Using Overseas Imported Fine Wares in 6th- and 5th-Century Eastern Crete” investigates the consumption of imported fine ware pottery in the eastern part of Crete and comes to the conclusion that this was clearly regulated by certain rules. According to Brisart, the use of luxury vessels was systematically avoided; in a few *poleis*, the use of imported vessels was possibly limited to specific communal contexts. Brisart convincingly shows how an ideology of equality shaped the material culture used by the citizens of Cretan *poleis*, the *homoioi*.

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Donald C. Haggis

Excavations at Azoria and Stratigraphic Evidence for the Restructuring of Cretan Landscapes ca. 600 BCE

Models of Urbanization on Crete

Conditions at the end of the 7th century on Crete constitute what might be called a “phase transition.” This term I adopt from Norman Yoffee¹, who visualizes a rapid crystallization of cities in “emerging interaction spheres.” Derived from complex adaptive systems, the term means an abrupt transition in states of being; the boiling or tipping point of change. By analogy, in behavioral realms the meaningful correlates might include evidence for the rapid materialization of new social institutions; the institutionalization of communal interaction; interconnections between previously unrelated groups; scalar changes in modes of interregional communication and interaction; and intensification of production and exchange. In considering the temporal aspect of the changes in question, the concept has points in common with the idea of a “punctuated equilibrium” which John Cherry borrowed from evolutionary biology to qualify the perceived suddenness of the leap in level of complexity, scale, and material elaboration that accompanied the emergence of the palace-centered states of Crete in the transition from the Early to Middle Bronze Age². Both concepts are I think broadly applicable to Crete in the Archaic period, and are useful in a descriptive sense, that is, in emphasizing the implications of stratigraphically definable horizons and thresholds or tipping points of significant culture change. Both perspectives though might be perhaps weaker in actually coming to terms with the causes, or in elucidating underlying sociopolitical structures and long-term processes leading up to the stratigraphically-identifiable periods of transformation. The purpose of this paper is to investigate briefly evidence from excavations at the site of Azoria for such an abrupt phase transition or punctuated change occurring roughly in the transition from the 7th to the 6th centuries BCE.

In a seminal article drawing on wide-ranging data, Antonis Kotsonas characterized the late 7th century on Crete in terms of intensification of production and exchange; increased surplus storage and mobilization; radical spatial and organi-

Prof. Dr. Donald C. Haggis, Nicholas A. Cassas Term Professor of Greek Studies, Department of Classics, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 212 Murphey Hall, CB 3145, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3145, U.S.A., dchaggis@email.unc.edu

¹ Yoffee 1997; 2005, 229–231.

² Cherry 1983.

zational shifts in mortuary, cult, and settlement behavior; and evidence for territorial expansion and internecine warfare³. These conditions resonate not only with Yoffee's idea of the phase transition, but also with the tenets of "coalescence", which might get us closer to understanding the processes involved in culture change in the Archaic period on Crete⁴. The latter, defined comparatively for prehistoric periods of the Americas, is a concept that does not predict a particular kind of society per se, but conditions, processes and strategies for creating integrative institutions and corporate structures that are responsive to scalar stress: in particular, demographic movement and settlement aggregation, increased interregional interaction and conflict, and political and economic intensification. Material evidence for coalescence would include shifts from static to dynamic conditions, and from long-lived stable and dispersed communities to nucleated sites; new forms of aggregated settlement structure; the formation of multilingual or multiethnic communities; and new kinds of social integration, as well as the appearance of institutions encouraging social integration that required new architectural designs and innovations in material culture⁵.

While the archaeology of 6th-century Crete remains, in settlement contexts, largely unexplored – the same might be true for mainland Greece as well – the material evidence currently available suggests a large-scale restructuring of the cultural and political geography at the end of the 7th century, fitting well with the broad outlines of a relatively rapid phase transition and coalescence. The conditions have been admirably shaped by recent narratives, which for the most part, have moved successfully beyond the idea of a 6th-century gap as a mysterious, though counterintuitive, lacuna in the archeological record of the island. Indeed I have argued elsewhere that we should begin to picture the 6th-century discontinuity itself in the context of wide-ranging systemic developments and urban growth, rather than the broad brush-strokes of societal fragmentation, economic decline, or population decrease⁶. Saro Wallace, for example, has supported the idea of the expansion of state territories and inter-polity conflict in the Archaic period, strengthening or reaffirming what she sees as preexisting, essentially Protogeometric (PG), state-level identities⁷. To be sure, a date around 600 BCE represents the latest *terminus ante quem* for a significant sociopolitical transformation on the island, emphasizing that the stratigraphic discontinuities that we actually see in the late 7th century may reflect a latter phase of a continuous development, perhaps enhancing, but not fundamentally changing, the structure of preexisting social

³ Kotsonas 2002.

⁴ Kowalewski 2006.

⁵ Kowalewski 2006, 108.

⁶ Prent 1996/1997; Morris 1998, 65 f.; Kotsonas 2002; Perlman 2010, 108; Haggis et al. 2004, 344. 393; Erickson 2010, 1–22; cf. Erickson, this volume.

⁷ Wallace 2010a; 2010b.

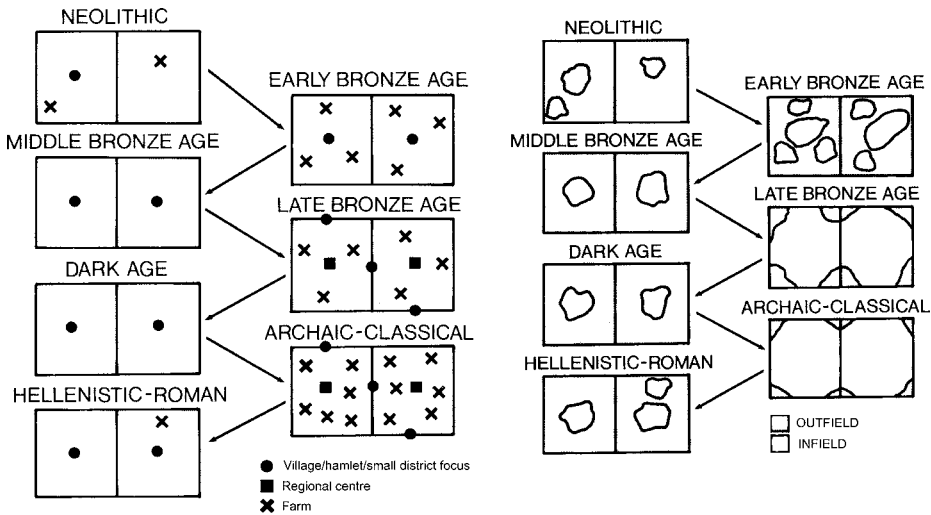


Fig. 1: Models representing changing settlement patterns (left) and land use (right) in the Aegean

configurations. Although the process must have involved a number of complex interregional and intraregional variables, such as territorialism, inter-polity conflict, and expanding political and economic alliances, it is the elite monopolized exchange and surplus production and mobilization – that is, critical relationships with rural agricultural hinterlands – that are unquestionably at the core⁸.

The question that emerges in the juxtaposition of Kotsonas and Wallace models, is perhaps whether the change represents an abrupt and canonical shift in settlement structure and land-use in the 7th or 6th centuries, for example, as John Bintliff (Fig. 1) modeled for the Aegean several years ago⁹, or a more gradual incremental Early Iron Age process. My guess is that the problem is more methodological and phenomenological than material: Wallace's picture is shaped from a gradualist perspectives derived from surface survey, while Kotsonas's reconstruction is based for the most part on individual stratigraphic contexts. While I would agree that as a process, it was probably a long-term development, and that Archaic-period discontinuities should reflect the visible materialization of the results of a process rather than a singular global event, neither approach necessarily predicates mutually exclusive causal variables. I think it is, nevertheless, from the standpoint of excavation, still important to explore the material evidence for the latter as archaeological evidence of the dynamics of the process.

In Wallace's narrative, which is probably the most elaborated to date, a circumscribed lineage-based elite (essentially sets of clans) survived into the Archaic peri-

⁸ Wallace 2010a, 78; 2010b, 346 f. 374 f.; see Erickson 2009 on the territory of Praisos.

⁹ Bintliff 1982, 107 f.

od, *mutatis mutandis*, becoming increasingly entrenched, ultimately forming the ruling or citizen class of the Archaic city¹⁰. The conservative clan-based system was linked to domination or ancestral control and intensification of use of land holdings and agricultural resources (essentially the “outfield” in Bintliff’s model in Fig. 1)¹¹; and such a system would perhaps have internally inhibited both complex social stratification and expansion or mobility of systems of management and identity, while ultimately encouraging the proliferation or replication of numerous relatively small-scale states¹².

The model is vivid, and indeed with more excavation and survey specifically targeting Archaic and Classical periods, we will no doubt recover a large number of such small-scale cities, miniature proto-*poleis*, of variable sizes, material configurations, life trajectories and regional histories. Most of these will have Early Iron Age foundations and survive well into the 6th and 5th centuries, but their primary period of material growth and formal development will most likely be the 6th century itself; and many of these should be found to have been abandoned long before they could leave substantial epigraphic records or surviving historical memory¹³. In this sense our epigraphic and historical inventories of Cretan *poleis*, necessarily dependent on place names that survive in Classical, Hellenistic, or Roman-period documents, will have limited diachronic value in understanding the locations and structure of early Cretan urbanization. We will remain dependent on the archaeology.

Among these small centers, inter-polis conflict would have reinforced, enhanced, and probably led to the expansion of preexisting and formative state structures¹⁴. At the same time, however, this early inter-city dynamic, that served to encourage the growth of cities and territorial states, will also at the same time have been a likely cause for the early destructions of many of these emergent centers. But for our methodological discussion here, what is interesting is that Wallace considers the specific forms of these early cities on Crete – what they looked like – to be materially irrelevant. That is, in essence, the importance of the construction of the physical morphology of Greek cities was that it reinforced and encouraged the success of already emergent *poleis* in the Aegean; but for Crete, she sees a persistent “constrained material reality”, that is, a lack of distinctive or compelling evidence, or indices on the site-level, to help us grapple with the character of Archaic urbanization as a cultural phenomenon and meaningful correlate for changes that

¹⁰ Wallace 2010b, 347–348.

¹¹ Bintliff 1982, 108; Jameson 1992.

¹² Wallace 2010b, 341.

¹³ For the artifact of the “proto-*polis*” I have benefited from much discussion with Paula Perlman and Florence Gaignerot-Driessen. On the epigraphical complexities in the formation of *polis* identities, see Gaignerot-Driessen 2013.

¹⁴ Wallace 2010b, 347.

we see in this period¹⁵. It suffices to say, however, that any argument on the form or meaning of the structure of settlement in Archaic Crete, remaining largely *ex silentio*, deserves to be challenged through excavation.

In this paper, using stratigraphic evidence from recent excavations at Azoria, I present an alternative to the dominant gradualist perspective – the situation is not unique to Crete – which, like most views of the period, tends to look outside of the city center itself for material indices of urbanization, and for evidence of sociopolitical changes leading to the *polis*, or in Hansen’s nomenclature a “type of town” or “urban centre” rather than the political community of “state”¹⁶. In general the question of what constitutes the emerging Archaic city in the Aegean in a material sense is normally framed as being unanswerable, unimportant, or essentially moot: the stratigraphically visible thresholds of urban transformation seem, on the one hand, unattainable archaeologically (or nonexistent), that is, obscured by later superimposed strata, ambiguously configured, formally unremarkable, or irrelevant to the question of sociopolitical organization. That said, two questions are worth pursuing: if it were possible to recover distinct stratigraphic and materially coherent phases of urbanization, what would be the formal criteria and archaeological data needed for defining such stages, and indeed the material condition of urbanism itself in the Archaic period? And second, what kinds of evidence would we want in order to explore the social or political structure of that urban community through time¹⁷?

One approach to the problem of the early Cretan city is through the evaluation of evidence for sociopolitical structure, which might be modeled with some success through evidence of intra-site relationships manifested in patterns of use of domestic and communal spaces. A fundamental component of such relationships, which leaves archaeological traces, is the scale, organization, and integration of agricultural production – as a means of organizing, subsidizing, and controlling labor and land use, and structuring political and economic relationships, between individuals, groups, and various parts of the larger collective of the state. For example, Wallace offers the eloquent and perhaps prescient view that prominent kin groups emerged within early political centers on Crete, serving to reinforce new “structures of authority and dominance”¹⁸, permanently altering direct localized and traditional lineage connections to agricultural land, and leading to sharp divisions of classes that left a conquered or socially subordinated rural population distinctly separate from and in degrees dependent on an urban citizen class: “urban living may increasingly have been considered a restricted privilege, mainly for full citizens”, evidently “building political coherence and economic growth”¹⁹. The picture

¹⁵ Wallace 2010b, 282 f.; cf. Kotsonas 2002.

¹⁶ Hansen 1997b, 9. 54–57; cf. Morris 1991.

¹⁷ cf. Hansen 1997b; Morgan – Coulton 1997.

¹⁸ Wallace 2010b, 336.

¹⁹ Wallace 2010b, 336.

fits remarkably well of course with Ian Morris's application of Gellner's agro-literate state model (Fig. 2)²⁰, in which a narrowly stratified urban elite is distinct from horizontally stratified rural peasant classes, but with social mobility between broad groups less rigidly maintained than in a classic citizen-state *polis* model. Paula Perlman's recent work on the Archaic Cretan economy is however providing a more complex and nuanced picture²¹, but for our purposes here Wallace's model, and the tendencies on Crete toward agro-literate structures can offer a coarse societal framework as a backdrop to archaeological evidence recovered through excavation.

But what interests me here is less the viability of the theoretical constructions of social or political landscapes of hypothetical proto-urban centers – which are nevertheless compelling – as much as the importance of the material constitution and physical construction of the city itself as a form of cultural production. The deliberate creation of the urban built environment (the centralized residences of the prominent kin groups) becomes in Wallace's view, a process of social and political negotiation, actively building a political economy: the assertion and maintenance of dominant social and political ideologies and strategies²². Both are a result of aggregation as well as a catalyst for continuing aggregation and social resolution. Internal warfare was also a critical strategy for the development and maintenance of emergent state structures, a view echoed in Brice Erickson's summary of economic adversity and the commonplace impression of material impoverishment on Crete in the 6th century²³. Site destructions, the construction of fortifications, and the martial quality of dedications in sanctuaries, might indeed reflect conditions necessitating the protracted and on-going assertion of Wallace's identity structures. While regional conflict would have served to reinforce and perpetuate dominant ideologies and sociopolitical order at home, the long view sees these inter- and intraregional dynamics as variable, beginning before the 6th century and continuing well after – a kind of continual process of restructuring the emerging polities.

This gradualist perspective, though very attractive, should not however contradict, or even cloud, a critical and global phase transition in the late 7th century. Echoing aspects of Kotsonas and Wallace's work, Erickson's view is less systemic and more causal, and therefore historical. His assertion that “inter-*polis* hostilities may have intensified in the 6th century, heralding a Darwinistic fight for survival [...]” emphasizes the social and economic peer polity-like interactions that led to changes in mortuary and cult display, and materially, a form of austerity in elite consumption that may have been resolved at a local level through ritual systems

²⁰ Morris 1997, 99 f.

²¹ E.g., Perlman 2004.

²² Wallace 2010a, 78.

²³ Erickson 2010, 305–308; Wallace 2010b, 347; Perlman 2010.

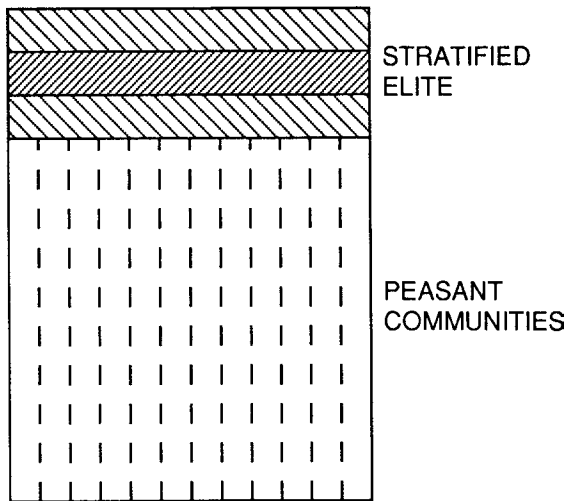


Fig. 2: Model of Gellner's agro-literate state

that promoted collective identity²⁴. Along similar lines, James Whitley proposes that the material austerity, especially in communal rituals and dining practices, could have functioned to promote a form of egalitarian ethos or the institutionalization of new forms of social interaction among clans or segmented lineages that made up a newly constituted citizenry²⁵. Extreme standardization of cup forms and types (and a remarkable lack of diacritical or qualitative stylistic elaboration or rationing), while probably overemphasized, does represent a significant change from the Late Geometric (LG) and Early Orientalizing (EO) practices and traditions, and most likely, in their use contexts, reflects a corporate political culture of exclusion²⁶. The potential for modeling changes in the social discourse of consumption practices is I think significant and worth exploring²⁷.

Both Erickson and Wallace would probably agree that changes in agropastoral production and the institutionalization of these communal dining practices in the 6th century were at the heart of the construction of political identities²⁸, and indeed, as Kotsonas has put it, forming “a consensus among the competing elite”²⁹. In such an agro-literate system, the institutionalization of the citizenry was closed and internally operating, or as Erickson has said most succinctly, “Cretan citizens

²⁴ Erickson 2010, 307 f.

²⁵ Whitley 2009, 290.

²⁶ Small 2010.

²⁷ E.g., Kotsonas 2011.

²⁸ E.g., Erickson 2010, 320, 344; Wallace 2010b, 282; Small 2010.

²⁹ Kotsonas 2002, 55.

did not need to compete with serfs and slaves”³⁰. While the emphasis on public dining and drinking in the archaeological record may be a result of our selection bias and the survivability of bones and pottery, food and utensils, for food and drink consumption, Crete does present interesting historical contexts in which communal agricultural resource allocation and ritualized household and supra-household consumption were evidently important. The historically-attested institution of the *syssition*, and the physical building and location of a communal mess hall, or *andreion*, present obvious and fascinating examples that have prompted considerable discussion of public dining practices as culturally significant social behavior. Moreover, the characterization of the Cretan *polis* as a quasi-agro-literate state, however generalized or simplified, is related directly to the economics and politics of land use, centering on the control of agriculture, the labor to implement it, the procurement and maintenance of surplus for redistribution, and above all, exclusionary definitions of public consumption³¹.

Archaic civic inscriptions such as the Spensithios decree refer to agricultural products that existed as payments into and out of public stores, while the Gortynian Code and inscriptions from Eleutherna commonly make references to the agro-pastoral concerns of the city. Paula Perlman’s evaluation of the Archaic Cretan economy, however, points out the importance of craftsmen wage-earners at Eleutherna, and the potential implications of a semi-monetized or even market sector not obviously tied to agricultural production³². The overly generalized picture – agriculture supporting rigid social and political groups of citizen aristocrats who controlled production by dependent laborers, serfs and slaves – has prompted Perlman’s analysis, demonstrating clearly that “the traditional nexus of land ownership, agricultural production, and citizenship was not absolute”³³. That said, it is important to keep in mind that an agricultural economy in urban or state-level contexts is not a subsistence economy (as it is often misconstrued), and that staple-finance based systems are very complex things, not precluding or obviating the development of other sectors of an economy. Craftsmen, citizen craftsmen, or even well-developed market driven exchange, do exist and operate parallel to prevailing staple-finance and agro-literate structures. While I am still reluctant to accept the “want of evidence for interest on the part of the state in agriculture and animal husbandry [...]” that Perlman reads in the data, she does imply that the stability of the traditional structure of land ownership and agricultural production may not have required an abundance of inscribed regulation³⁴. That is, what the state chose to inscribe was not necessarily a convenient documentation of every detail of the

³⁰ Erickson 2010, 305.

³¹ Small 2010; see Bintliff 1982, 108, for Archaic Greece in general.

³² Perlman 2004.

³³ Perlman 2004, 130.

³⁴ Perlman 2004, 129 f.

economy, or the state's dependence on it, but perhaps a reflection of immediate or current concerns that were its active purview, as well as the sample of contextually-dated inscribed documents that survive or have been recovered; that latter I think is a much bigger consideration.

The following reflects on evidence of urbanization from excavated contexts at the site of Azoria, suggesting that the analysis of the construction of the city center itself informs our understanding of patterns of changing intra-site relationships; both indicate an abrupt change in the agricultural economy, in which new contexts and practices of food production and consumption, in the late 7th and early 6th centuries BCE, were of central importance in ordering social, and by extension, economic and political relationships in the Archaic city.

Evidence for a Phase Transition at Azoria

Azoria became a large aggregated settlement by the 6th century – broadly speaking, fitting the chronology, form, and process of small-scale urbanization as we understand it in the Aegean, and reflecting what I think is a recurring pattern on Crete in general. The model derived from both survey and excavation in the Kavousi area suggests a long period of static settlement forms in the Early Iron Age, miniature aggregates or clusters of small dispersed interrelated villages and cemeteries (about 10–20 houses each), remaining stable in the region for a period of some 400–500 years. An abrupt change at the end of the 7th century evidently brought with it both abandonment and physical movement of population to the site of Azoria. The site expanded to about 15 ha. in size, and what we see about 600 BCE, is a very different idea and configuration of what the settlement had been before, how it was structured physically, the nature of its economy, and its arenas for social interaction. This date coincides with the abandonment of the neighboring Early Iron Age site of the Kastro, and associated cemeteries containing collective tombs at Vronda, Skala, Skourismenos, Chondrovoulakes, and probably at Azoria itself, where an early 6th century street and house were built directly over an intact, but at the time, still very visible, Late Minoan (LM) IIIC to PG tholos tomb³⁵.

Evidence for this kind of aggregation and coalescence is also apparent in the dispersed Early Iron Age cluster pattern at Gortyn, with the establishment of a new temple and settlement in the plain³⁶. In western Mesara, we do not really know the disposition of Phaistos, but it could well fit Wallace's model of a PG aggregate that develops, by the 6th century, a centrifugal series of rural dependents, indeed the very kind of structure we imagine for Crete in general in the Archaic period³⁷. Wa-

35 Haggis et al. 2004; 2007a; 2007b; 2011a; 2011b; Haggis – Mook 2011.

36 Perlman 2000, 74–76; 2004a, 121; Wallace 2003, 263–266.

37 Watrous – Hadzi-Vallianou 2004a, 314–317; 2004b, 342–344.

trous and Hadzi-Vallianou's map of the Archaic western Mesara is easily comparable to Bintliff's diagram (Figs. 1. 3), and the pattern is certainly indicative of significant changes in regional structure; but the configurations of the Early Iron Age and Archaic settlements at Phaistos itself (Fig. 3), that is the actual form and structures of settlement, are completely unknown³⁸. In the Vrokastro/Kalo Chorio region, by the 7th and 6th centuries, settlement apparently shifts inland from nucleated sites in the upper Ayios Phanourios area, upland into Skinavria and Meseleroi, though it remains unclear if the pattern reflects a central aggregate at Oleros with dependent farms and estates³⁹. Finally the move from the Karphi sites – I think there is a cluster of sites there – to Papoura is a clear pattern of early, that is, Protogeometric, aggregation, but we still do not know the actual internal structure of the Papoura settlement or changes down into the 7th and 6th centuries⁴⁰.

The importance of recent work at Azoria (Fig. 4) is that we can now begin to evaluate the details of changes in the internal settlement structure in the period, with a level of resolution simply unavailable in samples derived from surface survey, early-excavated and normally unstratified mortuary or sanctuary contexts, or sporadic stratigraphic soundings. The radical rebuilding of the site at the end of the 7th century demonstrates the dynamic reintegration, redefinition, and restructuring of domestic and communal spaces; the conceptualization and reification of a new physical form of settlement and community; a drastic increase in both the scale of building and the labor allocation and organization required to implement it; and finally the introduction of new kinds of architecture for entirely new venues of household functions and supra-household interaction⁴¹. The latter take the form of buildings probably for the restricted use of a citizen class; that is, fitting Hansen's restrictive definition of "civic" architecture. On the surface of things, this evidence accords remarkably well with many of the synthetic studies mentioned above, as well as historical sources that suggest a quasi-agro-literate structure of Cretan society at this time.

One of the most remarkable and materially consistent indications of the phase transition at Azoria is the large-scale transformation of the topography of the site, evinced in the presence of a thick layer of rubble fill found as wall and floor packing, and foundation deposits for Archaic buildings across the full extent of the excavated areas⁴². These "Archaic fill" deposits are normally discovered directly underneath the floor surfaces of buildings, in spaces in between buildings, as bedding for streets and ramps, and behind the spine walls on their upslope sides. Spine walls are massive retaining and dividing walls oriented to the contours of the hill

³⁸ Cf. Erickson 2010, 320.

³⁹ Hayden 1997, 112–114. 133 f.; 2004, 179 f. 188; Erickson 2010, 192. 246.

⁴⁰ Wallace 2010a, 23 f.

⁴¹ Contra Erickson 2010, 317–319; and Wallace 2010b, 282 f.

⁴² Haggis – Mook 2011, 518.

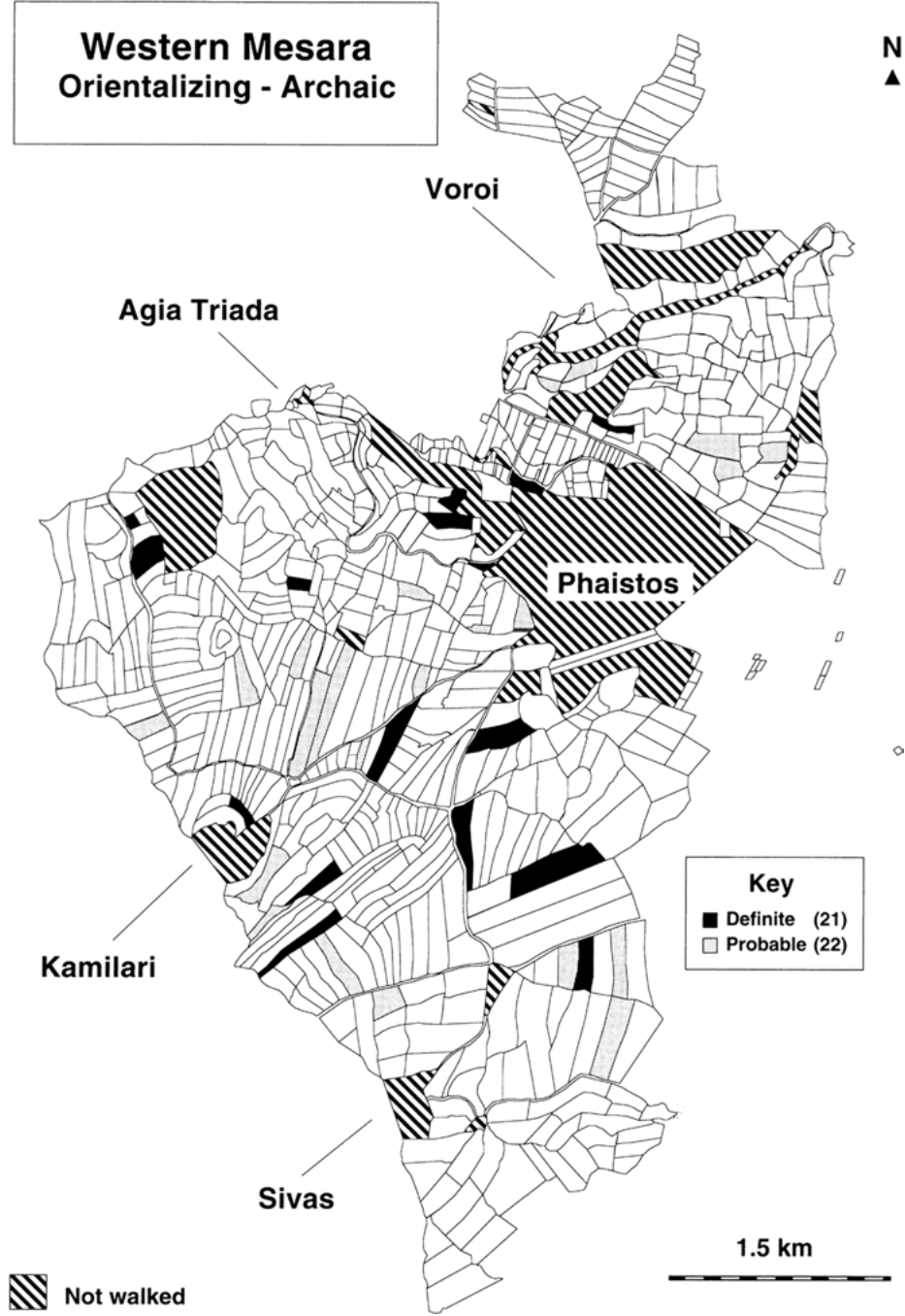


Fig. 3: Distribution of off-site Orientalizing-Archaic pottery in the Western Mesara

slope, which serve to structure architectural space and the urban topography; their widespread appearance in the late 7th and early 6th century signals the formalization of civic architecture and the materialization of the city plan⁴³. The creation of these massive foundation deposits; the use of megalithic construction; and the redesign and planning of the use of space, on a site-wide scale, in relatively short period of time, suggest a scalar upswing in the Archaic period – a significant change in the supra-household organization of the settlement; the mobilization and implementation of labor; and the form and perception of the built environment.

In *sondages* excavated so far on the site, the foundations for the Archaic buildings evidently intruded upon Early Iron Age and Orientalizing (O) occupation levels, usually destroying or effectively burying these earlier structures. The cobble-fill foundation deposits, found packed beneath Archaic buildings, and in between Archaic walls and the Early Iron Age structures normally include a mixture of Early Iron Age and Orientalizing pottery – the latest material recoverable in the cobble fill is Late Orientalizing in date, a likely *terminus ad quem* or *post quem* for the formation of the layer, thus providing a tentative chronology for the initial urban building phase that established the form of the Archaic settlement. While modifications and additions were evidently made throughout the 6th and early 5th centuries, a date just before 600 BCE marks a definitive period of urban growth, imprinting on the landscape a new settlement plan that was to remain essentially unchanged until the abandonment of the site.

While we are still considering the implications of this stratigraphic horizon, one thing we can see clearly is the summary destruction of Early Iron Age topography – a process that we find somewhat surprising given the regular trajectory of long-term settlement development on the neighboring site of the Kastro, which shows clearly a continuous stratigraphic layering, and the gradual accretion and expansion of rooms and buildings from the 12th to the end of the 7th century BCE⁴⁴. In sharp contrast, the physical change to the settlement at Azoria was abrupt and transformative. The Archaic builders consciously chose to alter the Early Iron Age terrain by concealing or systematically erasing the remains of earlier buildings. Furthermore, the renovation does not appear to be merely a matter of the technical exigencies of town planning on uneven terrain, or even the logistics of an ambitious public building program. It was a deliberate reconstruction of the physical and cultural landscape.

One interesting and perhaps dramatic example of this phase transition is in the burial of a cult building, probably an Early Iron Age hearth temple (“EIA–O Building”), on the lower southwest slope of the South Acropolis (Fig. 4: B3000, B3900)⁴⁵. The building’s construction date is no later than PG, with certain use in

⁴³ Haggis et al. 2004, 349–352; 2007a, 263–265; 2011a; 2011b.

⁴⁴ Mook 2011.

⁴⁵ Haggis – Mook 2011.

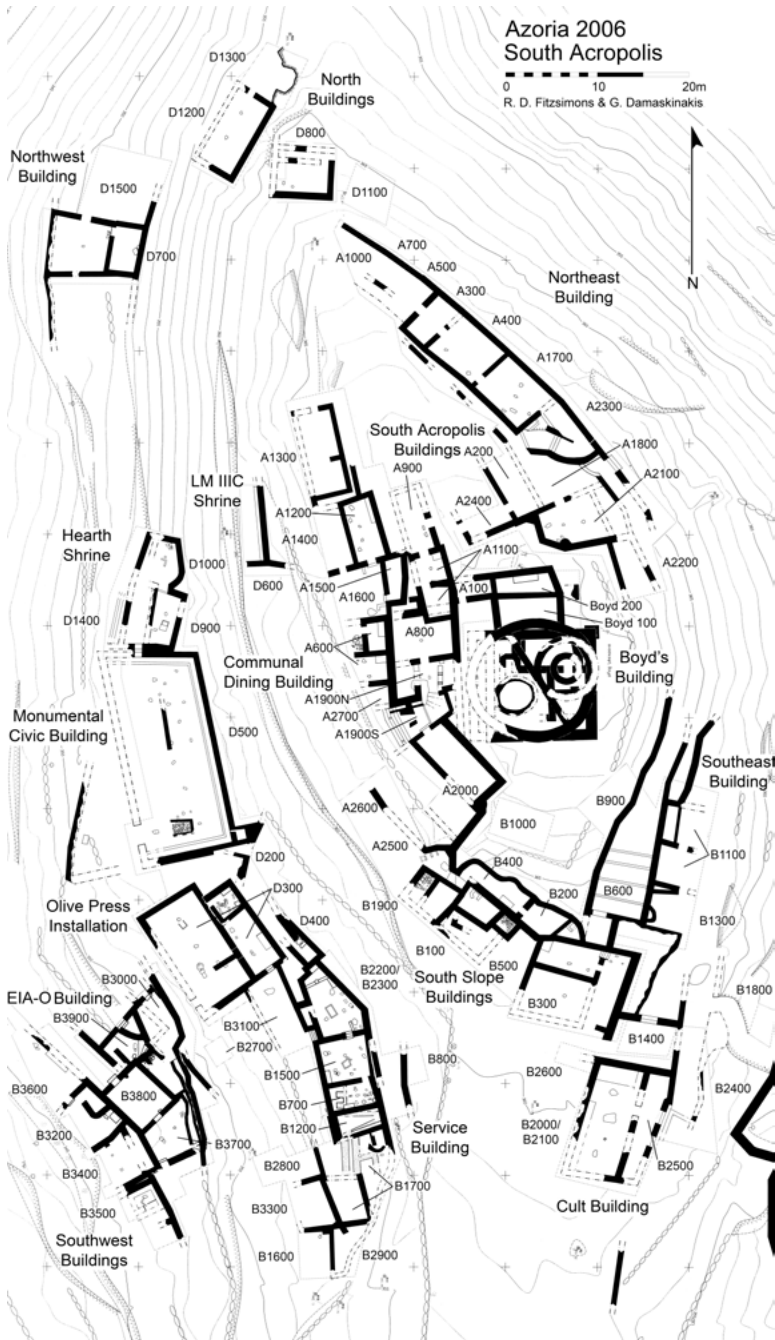


Fig. 4: Site plan of Azoria

the Late Geometric and Early Orientalizing periods. It was evidently altered and expanded in the course of the 7th century, and then eventually abandoned, in its last phase leaving behind a surprising amount of discarded sacrificial and dining debris. An Archaic street and the typical cobble-fill layer completely covered the last phase of the use of the temple. Although the street itself and its packing will have been exposed to the elements and eroded and resurfaced in the course of the 6th and early 5th centuries, the critical change, that is, the abandonment and burying of the temple, occurred in the late 7th century, when a mound of burned bone debris, and an assemblage of fragments of mostly LG to EO fine drinking vessels were gathered and dumped out into a front room and adjoining courtyard at the front of the building. While the main rooms of the building have yet to be excavated, the size and shape of the structure, and the condition of the ceramic and bone assemblages are consistent with those of hearth temples at Dreros, Prinias, and Kommos⁴⁶. What is important here is not only the abrupt abandonment and burying of the temple, a building type of sociopolitical importance in the Early Iron Age, but its disuse coincided with the radical modification of the topography and communication patterns to accommodate the Archaic civic buildings on the west slope of the South Acropolis – the Monumental Civic Building and Communal Dining Building effectively and immediately replaced the EIA–O Building, and transformed the context and scale of ritualized public drinking and dining.

Changes in Settlement Structure

In considering the phase transition from the standpoint of settlement structure, we can look at the differentiation of group membership, which I think provides an instructive indicator of intra-community organization and interaction. An examination of earlier forms of settlement in the region, that is, prior to 600, shows clearly the existence of proximate residential corporate groups. These manifest themselves in contiguous blocks of houses, probably related by lineage ties, patterned sequentially, and forming, over time, agglutinative compounds or spatially distinct neighborhoods. For examples, the Early Iron Age sites near Azoria, such as Vronda and Kastro⁴⁷, provide the clearest pictures of these kinds of proximate groupings. Growth on these sites is internal, additive, centripetal, and integrative. The structure of settlement manifests itself as agglomerative clusters of houses, sharing party walls, developing in linear diachronic patterns of expanding lineage groups.

⁴⁶ Shaw 2000, 698–703; Prent 2005, 627–633; 2007.

⁴⁷ Coulson et al. 1997; Mook 1998; Glowacki 2004; Glowacki – Klein 2011; Mook 2011.

These residential compounds, such as the Northwest Building on the Kastro⁴⁸, show gradual growth variously over 100 to 500 years, and static, entrenched, and integrated structuring of space, representing intergenerational and locus-bound groups; and emphasizing continuity and the connection between the physical locus of building and the surrounding landscape as a condition engendering and sustaining social identities. The coherence of these Early Iron Age corporate groups was probably related to land ownership and agriculture; the need to maintain cohesive landholdings, agricultural and pastoral resources, and a sufficiently large and stable labor pool (on the household level) to exploit these resources effectively.

By the 6th century at Azoria the situation is entirely different⁴⁹. The houses are new constructions, independent and larger in size than their Early Iron Age predecessors⁵⁰, and fully and physically integrated into the overall Archaic plan of the settlement (Figs. 4. 5). There is no diachronic change in their form over time, and they seem to represent individual nuclear households, with clearly-defined room functions: storerooms, halls (or living rooms), and kitchens, normally with adjoining interior courtyards (Fig. 5). Not only have the dimensions of the basic house unit increased, but the internal configuration of space has changed as well. Houses no longer have hearth-rooms – that is, the combined living, working and food producing areas characteristic of the Early Iron Age houses – but are spatially complex, with critical division of use areas. The halls mediate between storage and food producing areas, suggesting the economic and social-symbolic importance of pithos storage, and they were clearly used for food consumption (drinking, dining, and other activities), rather than food storage, production, or primary food processing. Perlman, following Erickson's reconstruction of sympotic assemblages in the presumably "private" context of burial, argues for the existence of household symposia in Archaic Crete⁵¹. The evidence from the halls of the houses at Azoria would certainly not contradict this view. Although there are few differences in essential components of ceramic assemblages found in public and private spaces at Azoria, the Communal Dining Building contains concentrations of rarely stands, rarely found in halls of houses, as well as unusual amounts of drinking and dining debris, suggesting the exclusive function of the dining rooms in that building (Fig. 1: A800, A2000, upper and lower rooms). Furthermore the finds from the main hall and pantries of the Monumental Civic Building indicate clearly that the main function of that structure was banqueting as well.

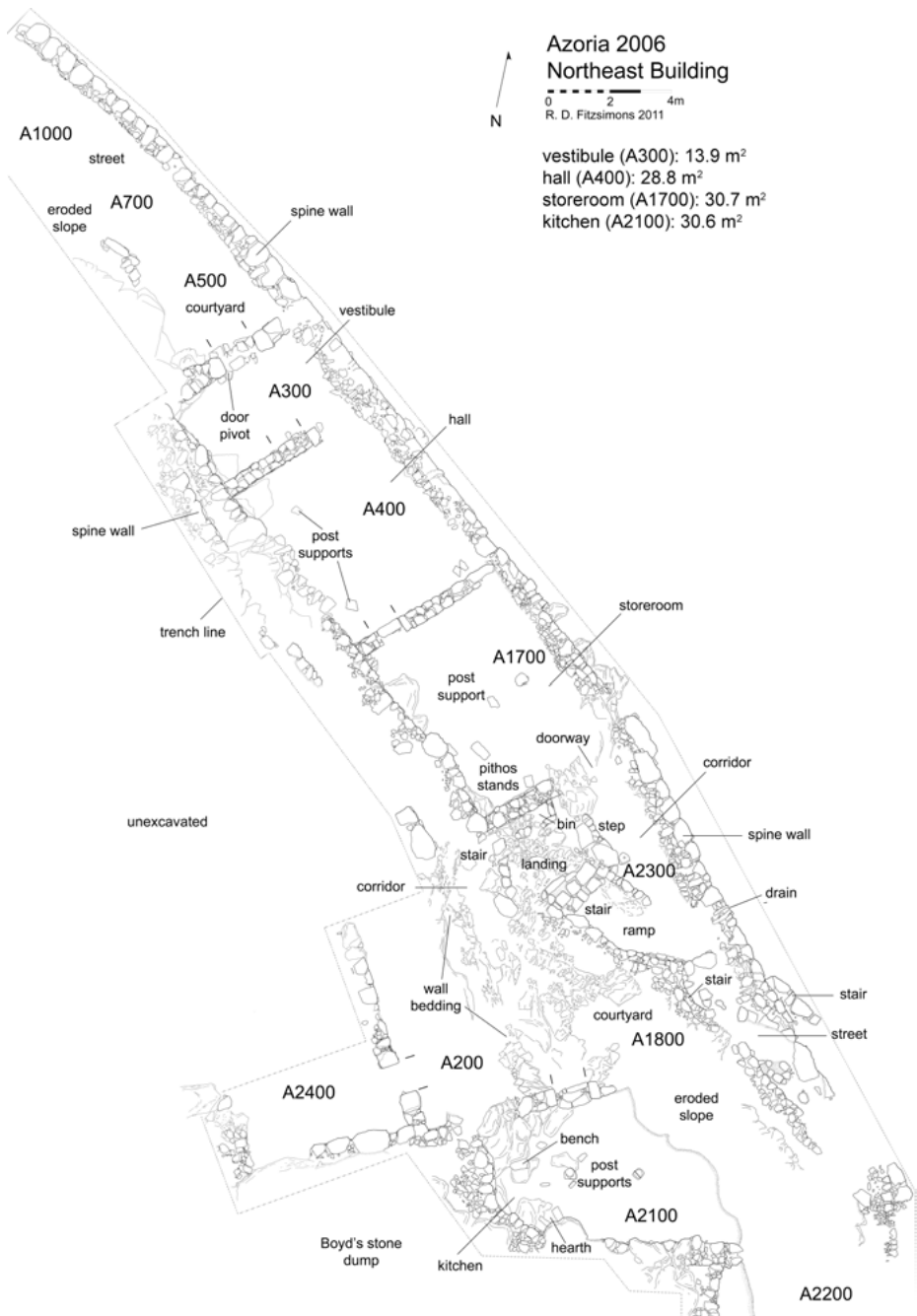
More to the point, the relationship of the house to the settlement had changed as well. Houses are physically integrated into the armature of spine walls which were constructed systematically in the early 6th century and extend continuously

⁴⁸ Mook 1998; 2011.

⁴⁹ Haggis et al. 2011b.

⁵⁰ See Mook 2011 for the range of LG house sizes on the Kastro.

⁵¹ Perlman 2004, 122; Erickson 2010, 326–328.



through zones of both civic and domestic building (Figs. 4. 5). This break from the Early Iron Age proximate (essentially co-residential) neighborhoods, blocks or clusters emphasizes the potential importance and social dynamics of changes in household interaction in the phase transition. The Archaic houses were reintegrated as single residences into the city-wide plan with a direct relationship to communal buildings. The Archaic pattern most probably represents multi-lateral relationships between individual elite houses and public space, while the Early Iron Age pattern from the region strongly indicates mediation at the level of the cluster or proximate group.

It is not likely that the essential corporate identity of the household had changed – in fact I think that given the static form of houses, and the kinds of food storage, processing, and consumption recovered suggest that these new urban residences must have been centers of dispersed or multi-local households. Thus it is the relationship of houses to the public or communal sphere that had changed, and as a result, the way in which the household interacted physically and economically with its broader political and agropastoral environment. From the range of foods and kinds of food processing in the houses, we conclude that a large part of primary production at Azoria was conducted away from the center, in presumably related or extended households down slope from the peak, or on rural estates: such activities would have included initial-stage grain and pulse storage and processing, and short term storage of olive and grapes for the production of oil and wine. That is to say, what we find in the urban houses is evidence for the final-stage storage and processing for consumption: clean grains and pulses, with small querns, mortars, hand stones, sometimes found with graters; cooked pulses, wine lees, and whole olives. Furthermore, most of the primary-stage butchering of meat was done elsewhere as well. Thus, from an agricultural perspective, the Archaic urban houses, in marked contrast to their 8th and 7th century counterparts, were principally consumers, and mostly likely the managers of both labor and production of agricultural wealth.

The public or civic institutions that ultimately developed at Azoria in the 6th century may have weakened the direct interpersonal bonds that were fostered by traditional clusters, proximate blocks of households, or neighborhoods that comprised the Early Iron Age communities. But given the overwhelming evidence of clans and tribes – as social units responsible for structuring membership in civic institutions⁵² – the new communal venues may have served to crystallize, enhance, and ultimately institutionalize the identities of groups that were originally kinship based. From the perspective of the household, urbanization on Crete may be seen as an active institutionalization of the residential kinship-corporate group, solidifying and codifying their social profile, political power, and economic status. Whatever social ties were weakened by the shift from proximate to dispersed residences,

⁵² Perlman, this volume.

they were compensated by new communal institutions that did not erode the essence of the corporate group, but rather reshaped and reintegrated its functions in venues of public rituals of assembly, dining and sacrifice.

The Development of Civic Space

The civic buildings occupy the upper shoulder of the southwest side of the South Acropolis (Fig. 4). While technically a central location, this is obviously not the kind of plan that we like to associate with Greek civic topography: that is, an open area in the center of the city, often demarcated with boundary stones, occupied first by an agora and temple⁵³, and then gradually populated by civic institutions, that through time, eventually take on distinguishable material forms of epigraphically-identifiable buildings: *bouleuteria*, *prytaneia*, and various locales for assemblies of citizens, like theaters, *ekklesiasteria*, *stadia*, law courts and so on⁵⁴. The buildings at Azoria obviously defy this arrangement, and though access routes are difficult to demonstrate because of erosion on the outer edges of the slopes, we do know that buildings were connected by a series of parallel streets running with the contours of the hill. The most accessible routes were from the south, but neither the Monumental Civic Building nor the Communal Dining Building (Fig. 4) provides a visual focal point from within the city, nor do they communicate openly from a central or open public space. Rather, they seem to have been inserted or nested into a framework of spine walls that structured the urban topography and formed an architectural armature that was established during a horizon of rebuilding at the end of the 7th century BCE.

The buildings were thus tightly knitted into the overall city plan and constructed along with houses that are built around them in a similar fashion. The impression is one of controlled or perhaps limited access from neighboring households, rather than from obviously central, reserved and unoccupied, communal space⁵⁵. Two things are important at this scale. First the buildings communicate directly with contiguous occupation areas; both domestic and civic spaces were part of a coordinated and synchronous building program and apparently unified design and plan of the city center. The exclusive internalizing form and communication patterns, and the direct juxtaposition to houses, suggest integration that was probably restricted and socially, as well as practically, relevant to the urban households. That is, the urban zone is a remarkably closed social community, defined by the close interrelationships of households and civic buildings. The scale and definition

⁵³ E.g., Crielaard 2009.

⁵⁴ Hansen 1997b; Osborne 2005.

⁵⁵ I have benefited from much discussion with David Small on communication patterns at Azoria (Small 2010, 203).

of public space were probably narrowly defined and critical and prescriptive variables in the creation and articulation of civic identity if not citizen status.

The second importance of the location is that while not centrally prominent or spatially engaging from within the city itself (such as an agora and acropolis sanctuary would be), the buildings have a dominant western aspect and viewshed, visible from the plain of Kampos, the north Isthmus of Ierapetra, and the Bay of Mirabello, and no doubt the neighboring territories of Oleros, Istron, Olous, Lato, Anavlochos and perhaps Milatos as well. That is, the civic center communicated on a local level within a closed and static community of urban households, and on a regional level, it projects a physical presence and identity outward toward other territorial states, rather than into its own regional hinterland.

The particular form of aggregation in the Archaic period at Azoria also presents interesting archaeological correlates of coalescence, such as collective defense; the physical movement of people to larger towns incorporating different regional populations, including multilingual or multiethnic groups; the intensification and scaling up of mechanisms of production; and an increase in visible indicators of inter-regional and extraregional exchange⁵⁶. Perhaps most important in the archaeology is evidence for community integration by means of corporate groups, clan systems, and sodalities; and the construction of collective leadership structures and the physical buildings for them, such as venues promoting universalizing ideologies through social and religious rituals. The juxtaposition of the Communal Dining Building and Monumental Civic Building, suggest different scales and different levels of integration within the city center. The layout of the buildings points to communal activities, but within highly controlled and regulated systems of participation and inclusion.

The Civic Buildings

The civic buildings mirror each other's essential functions: both have substantial storage and kitchen spaces; cult installations; and rooms for communal drinking and dining. The Communal Dining Building (Fig. 6) is complex and compartmentalized, indicating the division of activities and the segregation of groups. Food processing (A1600; A600) and storage facilities (A1200; A1500 and A1600) are centralized on the lower terrace, where rooms are tightly interconnected, but also physically separate from the dining rooms on the terrace above. It is clear that the communication patterns within the building are dendritic, with exclusive access

⁵⁶ See Haggis et al. 2004 for the nucleation of settlement; and Haggis et al. 2007a; 2011a; 2011b, for evidence of fortifications; east Mirabello, Attic, Corinthian, Lakonian, Aiginetan, Ionian and east Aegean, and Thasian imports; and Greek and Eteocretan inscriptions. On extraregional trade see Brisart, this volume.



Fig. 6: Excavated areas of the Communal Dining Building as of 2006

from food storage and processing areas, to the rooms of the upper terrace, controlled by a stair, porch and vestibule. The cult room (A1900N) with a ground altar is centered within a cluster of dining rooms (A800; A2000 upper and lower) (Figs. 6, 7). While only about half of the entire lower level of the building is preserved, the concentration of provisions and facilities for food storage and preparation is beyond question. Only one of two pithos storerooms was well preserved (A1200), it contained at least seven jars holding a variety of foods, but mostly wine and olives in its last period of use⁵⁷. Its area, exceeding 20 m², is double the size of the smallest storeroom in the Service Building (Fig. 4: B700), which is 11 m² and contained no less than nine jars, among a number of smaller storage vessels such as amphoras.

The adjacent Monumental Civic Building (Fig. 8), in marked contrast, has a single undivided main hall with a well-built stepped bench around the sides (D500), that was clearly designed to accommodate assemblies and feasting, activities that were more communal, or perhaps less restricted or internally segregated, than those of the Communal Dining Building. The Service Building (Fig. 9), with three storerooms (B700; B1200; D300), two kitchens (B1500; B2200/2300), and an industrial olive-oil press (D300), supplied the Monumental Civic Building with its considerable provisions⁵⁸. A shrine (D900; D1000) is directly connected to the main hall, but has restricted access. The rooms of the shrine are small (Fig. 8: Hearth Shrine), and practical use would have been limited to a few people. Although offerings on the altar would hardly have been openly visible beyond the confines of the altar room itself, votives could have been paraded into and out of the public view on the terrace in front of the building and within the adjoining main hall. That is, the structuring of space of the Monumental Civic Building suggests inclusive, expanded, and large-scale public participation, while the small size and limited access of the adjoining shrine (Fig. 8), points to the existence of an exclusionary and probably codified group of titled magistrates or functionaries of the cult. The altar room (D900) was equipped with a hearth, and adjoined a small kitchen (D1000), but food preparation was no doubt limited to preparation of sacrificial offerings and dining by a select few.

In general, the dining and ceremonial areas of the Communal Dining Building are internally differentiated (Figs. 6, 7). The compartmentalization of space and the replication of assemblages, suggests the separation and reduplication of similarly functioning rooms. Each of these spaces contains dining debris, a preponderance of individual drinking vessels, such as cups and skyphoi, as well as animal bones and marine shells, clearly food refuse. Serving vessels are also found, the most interesting being terracotta stands, each very different, in fact unique, in design and degree of elaboration (Fig. 7)⁵⁹. Formally these can be defined as krater stands,

⁵⁷ Contra Erickson 2010, 319.

⁵⁸ Haggis et al. 2011a.

⁵⁹ Haggis et al. 2011a, 14.

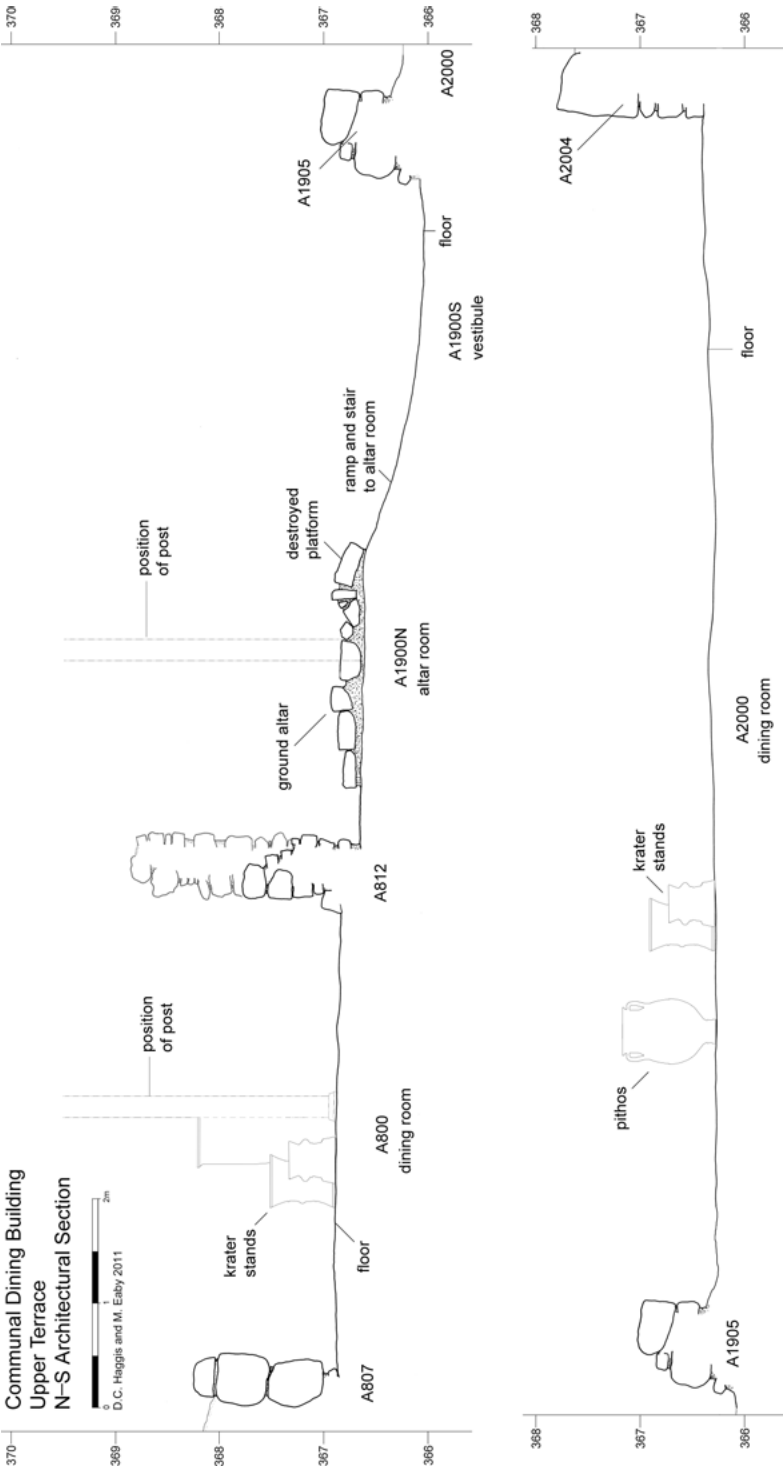


Fig. 7: Communal Dining Building: architectural section of the upper level (dining rooms and altar room)

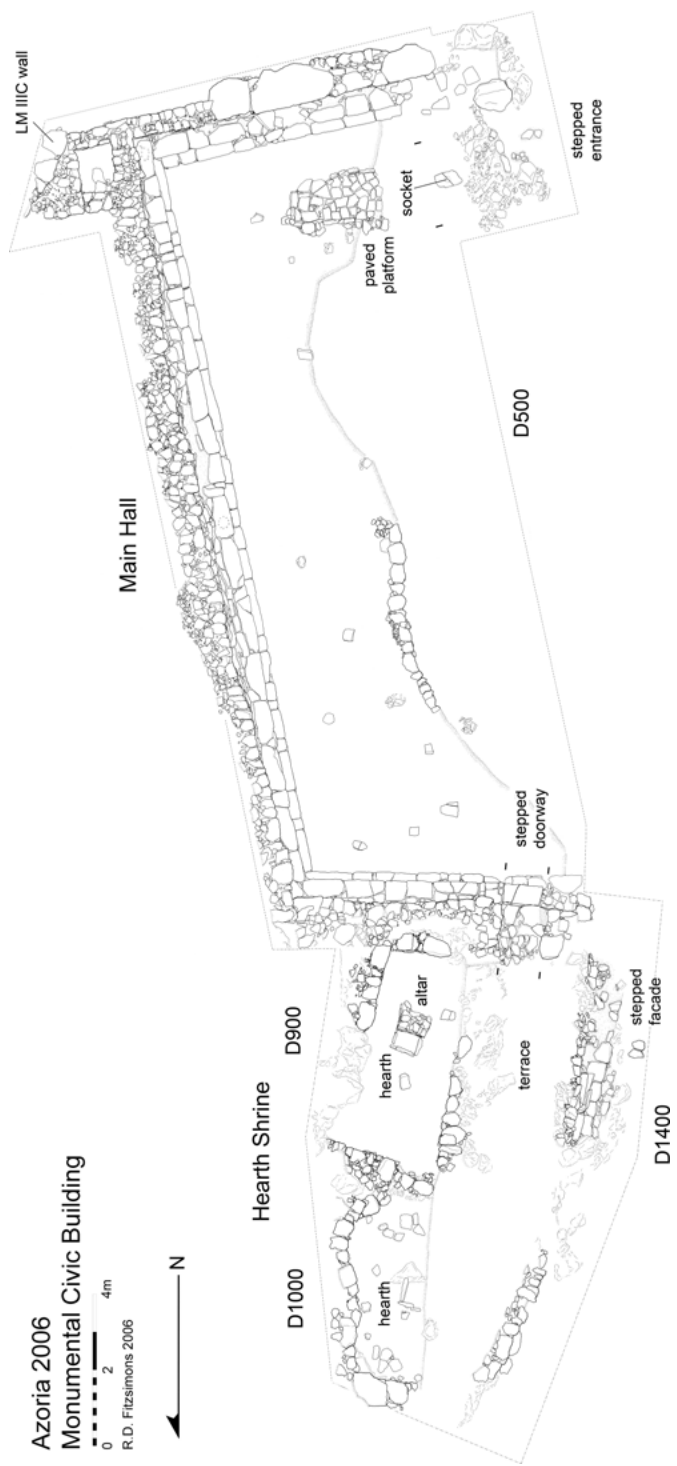


Fig. 8: Monumental Civic Building

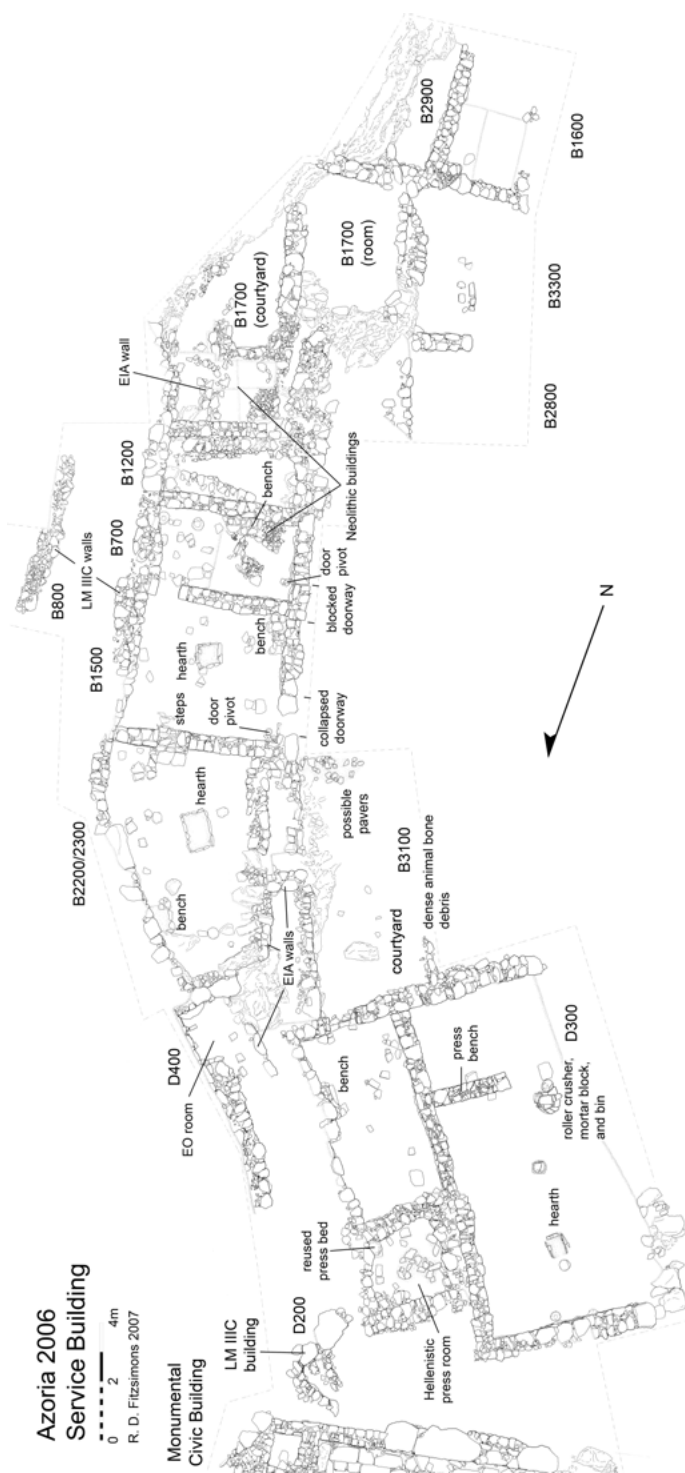


Fig. 9: State plan of the Service Building

roughly biconical, often fenestrated, more rarely cylindrical, supports for kraters, dinoi, or other large open containers. They are rarely found elsewhere on the site in either domestic or civic contexts, and their consistent appearance in these dining rooms suggests a special function related to serving wine to large groups of people. The distinctive and distinctly different forms of these objects, used and juxtaposed in the same context, indicates a horizontal apposition of different styles in marked contrast to the homogeneity of individual servings in high necked black-glaze cups. The differences are probably significant and are not likely hierarchical or diacritical distinctions of entrepreneurial or patron-client relationships, but rather the juxtaposition of socially-equal groups, each with their own stand, drinking from their own krater, a practice which would have emphasized subgroup identity within the larger group using a dining room. The altar room (Figs. 6, 7: A1900N) was open and visible from the vestibule, fully integrated into the row of dining rooms on the upper terrace, and was most likely accessible for routine offerings from participants engaged in the various adjoining dining rooms.

In contrast, the main hall of the Monumental Civic Building presents ample space for open participation irrespective of group or sub-group identities (Fig. 8: D500). Meals, such as stews, were ladled out in large common vessels, and meat remains represent whole leg portions spit-roasted in the adjacent kitchens of the Service Building (Fig. 9: B1500, B2200/2300). This is not to say that social distinctions did not exist, or could not have been expressed through differentiated portioning of meat, such as the leg segments, or other foods, or even by means of arranged seating within the building. But the open plan and fixed seating are designed to encourage, if not prescribe a communal experience.

Considering also the evidence of urban residences on the site, and domestic contexts of food processing and storage, the overall intra-site pattern suggests a marked decentralization of food procurement activities, with primary production, storage, and processing relegated to dependents at the periphery of the center, turning the urban house into estate managers, essentially centers of dispersed households. The urban residences would then have both stored already processed consumables derived from the countryside, but also channeled its surplus into the storerooms and kitchens of the Service Building and the lower level of the Communal Dining Building. The social mechanisms of production were geared not to the subsistence needs of independent family units as in the Early Iron Age settlements, but to larger-scale venues of public commensality that reinforced the equality, identity, and the economic structure of segments of the urban citizenry. That is, intensification of primary production shifts dramatically from the houses at the center to both rural dependents at the periphery, as well as to the centralized facilities of civic buildings.

On the intra-site level, houses were built with direct reference to these communal spaces and civic buildings, codifying their locations, statuses and relationship to the communal dining halls and the associated service buildings (Fig. 4). The

evidence for feasting and forms of public investment in it – that is, large complexes, devoting unusual amounts of space and resources to food storage and processing – demonstrate clearly the intensification and centralization of production and consumption. Pantries (storerooms and kitchens) are equipped with complete processing, dining, and drinking equipment, suggesting supra-household and ceremonial functions. Moreover, the altars in the civic buildings emphasize the use of communal cult practices in expressing, if not an egalitarian ethos, certainly the collective identity of a participating class.

What is interesting is the rapid, synchronic, and unified integration of houses and public buildings in the city center at the end of the 7th century, and the scaling-up of their forms and functions, suggesting a conscious and deliberate act of constructing and redefining the social community, while articulating relationships that served to maintain and reinforce the urban political economy, especially the allocation of household surpluses in civic contexts of consumption.

Conclusion

The conditions that engendered this specific form of aggregated settlement at Azoria invite both historical particularism as well as speculation on global processes that affected every area of Crete by the end of the 7th century. The period of transition may be characterized by scalar stress, involving territorial expansion, changes in trading patterns, political intensification as well as a pronounced increase in internecine conflict and inter-polity warfare, a picture resonating with the idea of coalescence. Political intensification, changes in labor allocation and mobilization, and the social mechanisms for production are strongly in evidence at Azoria, indicating a marked break from Early Iron Age patterns in the region. What might be apparent in the evidence is the viability of clan-based systems, their codification and materialization, and their potential to direct or facilitate long-distance exchange; to appropriate and maintain corporate holdings of property and control agricultural production over generations.

The process of constructing the city, while predicated and preconditioned by a preexisting social structure, nevertheless created a new political community, fundamentally changed earlier modes of behavior, and ultimately new kinds of interaction. The Archaic city was, if anything, not simply a scaled-up version of its Protogeometric or even Late Geometric predecessor, but rather, an entirely new way of thinking, living, and interacting. The phase transition encompassed a purposive redirection of resources and reshaping power relationships in many ways in direct, physical, and architectural opposition to the Early Iron Age settlement structure. Extrapolating from this evidence from Azoria, we might begin to see new city centers on Crete as essentially collections of newly institutionalized households. Clans were rewoven into the urban fabric of the settlement, making up a

network of similar houses whose identity and stability were derived from communal institutions combining cult and feasting practices that reaffirmed and facilitated the social, political, and economic order of the Archaic community.

Illustration Credit

- Fig. 1: after Bintliff 1982, 107 f. figs. 13.4–5
 Fig. 2: after Morris 1997, 93 fig. 6.2a
 Fig. 3: after Watrous – Hadzi-Vallianou 2004a, 316 fig. 11.6
 Fig. 4: R. D. Fitzsimons and G. Damaskinakis
 Fig. 5. 8. 9: R. D. Fitzsimons
 Fig. 6: R. D. Fitzsimons, with additions by D. C. Haggis and M. S. Mook
 Fig. 7: D. C. Haggis and M. Eaby

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Eva Tegou

Archaic and Classical Axos

Introduction

This article examines the archaeological evidences of ancient Axos¹ in light of new research² in an attempt to shed light on the history of the city from ca. 600–400 BCE.

Ancient Axos was situated on an imposing hill, in the northeastern foothills of Mt. Ida. Along the east side of the hill flows the Geropotamos River, known in antiquity as Oaxes, which joins with a stream here (Fig. 1). Their valleys were used as the main routes³ that led from the north coast, in the Panormos area⁴, to Axos and via Zominthos⁵ to the Idaean Cave⁶. The second route led from Axos to the port of Almyrida, where ancient Sissai⁷ used to be. Across these routes many archaeological sites have been revealed⁸.

The hill of Axos (Fig. 1) has a height of 600 m and is one of the highest occupied places in ancient and modern Crete⁹. The east slope is smooth, and modern dry-walls constitute small terraces on the slope. The modern road to Anogeia, which runs along the east side, alters the perception of the ancient topography.

Eva Tegou, M.A., Archaeological Museum of Rethymnon, 25th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, 214 Arkadiou St., 74100 Rethymnon, Greece, etegou@otenet.gr

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2 Τέγου 2013, 87, from 1999–2000 an extensive cleaning program gave the opportunity to re-examine the monuments. A project in progress attempts to link with the found places the antiquities donated from the villagers to the Archaeological Museum of Rethymnon; cf. Σαρκής 2009; Τέγου 2010, 493. Geophysical methods were used in several sites of Axos.

3 The description of the routes followed by the first travelers and archaeologists who visited Axos in 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries provide information about the routes and roads during antiquity. Pashley 1837, 143–146; Spratt 1865, 70–85; Πετρουλάκης 1915, 46 f.; Σακελλαράκης 1998, 25, 51; Κεφαλίδου 2006, 243, 248 f.

4 Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 2004, 40 figs. 38, 39; Γαβριλάκη 2006.

5 Sakellarakis – Panagiotopoulos 2006.

6 Σακελλαράκης 1987.

7 Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 2004, 43.

8 Panormos: Γαβριλάκη 2006, 202 f. Grivila: Taramelli 1899, 308 f.; Πλάτων 1951, 441. Melidoni: Τζεδάκης – Γαβριλάκη 1995. Apladiana: Πετρουλάκης 1915, 46 f.; Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 1991, 433. Drosia: Κεφαλίδου 2006, 233–239; Sporn 2006, 205 f. 215. Faratsi: Κεφαλίδου 2006, 240–243. Aimonas: Αλεξίου 1964, 447. Chonos: Κεφαλίδου 2006, 245–247. Aloides: Τζεδάκης 1973, 583.

9 Anogeia is the highest modern village in Crete, 740 m, ancient Zominthos is located in a mountainous region, ca. 1200 m above sea level, Sakellarakis – Panagiotopoulos 2006, 48, 66; Both places are in the vicinity of Axos.

The north slope of the hill is also gentle, as opposed to the west and south slopes, which are steep. West of Axos, the Chalepa Mountain dominates and partly hinders the view of Mt. Ida. In the space between the two hills there is a small valley, as the modern toponym Langos indicates. From the top of Axos it is possible to overlook the Mylopotamos Valley.

According to the geomorphology, the east and north sides were the most convenient for settlement, so most ruins are visible there. The cemeteries of the ancient city extended, as is usually the case, along the roads which connected the city with the countryside¹⁰. In the case of Axos the main area, which was used as a necropolis from the Late Minoan period to Roman times, coincides with the country road Rethymno-Axos-Zoniana.

As the case is for most Cretan cities, for Axos there is neither literary evidence¹¹ nor a known historical event for the period from 600–400 BCE. Therefore, this study is based only on archaeological and epigraphical records, which were discovered mainly during the first campaign in 1899 by the Italian School¹², as well as by the Archaeological Service during the last century¹³. However, neither of the excavations from the 20th century were published. Thus the image of the ancient city is still based on the initial research, which was conducted at two areas on the acropolis of Axos and concerns two buildings. The first was visible on the north slope of the hill, at the site where inscriptions were previously found¹⁴. The other was discovered on the east slope of the acropolis¹⁵. The excavators identified both buildings as temples¹⁶, although the results were not published by them but by others. In 1931, Levi published an article about the bronze offerings from the temple on the east side of the acropolis and included in his work¹⁷ a description of the two buildings investigated by the Italian School in 1899. In 1968, Rizza studied the

10 Parallels from ancient cemeteries in the Rethymnon Prefecture: Eleuftherna: Τέγου – Φλεβάρη 2010, 498.

11 Stampolidis 2006, 60–64. The literary reference to Axos by Hdt. 4, 150–158 about the foundation of Cyrene in 631 BCE concerns an earlier period, viz. the beginning of the 7th century BCE; Osborne 2009, 8–13, on some problems of the context of this narration; Μανδάλκη 2006, 190.

12 IC II, v; Perlman 2010, 80–82, for the discovery of the inscriptions; Aversa 2006, for the pioneering research by the Italian School.

13 Πετρουλάκης 1915, in place stou Gerakaro, revealed a depot of terracotta figurines; Αλεξίου 1961/1962, a terracotta head of a female statue handed over to the Archaeological Museum of Rethymnon; Σακελλαράκης 1965, recovered a big number of terracotta figurines and some vessels; Τέγου 2006. Πολογιώργη 1983, and Προκοπίου 1991–1993, excavated a cemetery in the place Teichio/Megalos Trafos, in the SW foothills of the acropolis. Προκοπίου 1991–1993, excavated in a field, next to the Byzantine church of Panagia, which recovered a part of the Hellenistic settlement, dated to the 3rd to 2nd centuries BCE. For recent work at this place see Τέγου 2012.

14 Halbherr 1899, 538; Perlman 2010, 80–82.

15 Halbherr 1899, 537–539; Levi 1930/1931; Aversa – Monaco 2006.

16 Halbherr 1899, 537–539.

17 Levi 1930/1931, 43–57.

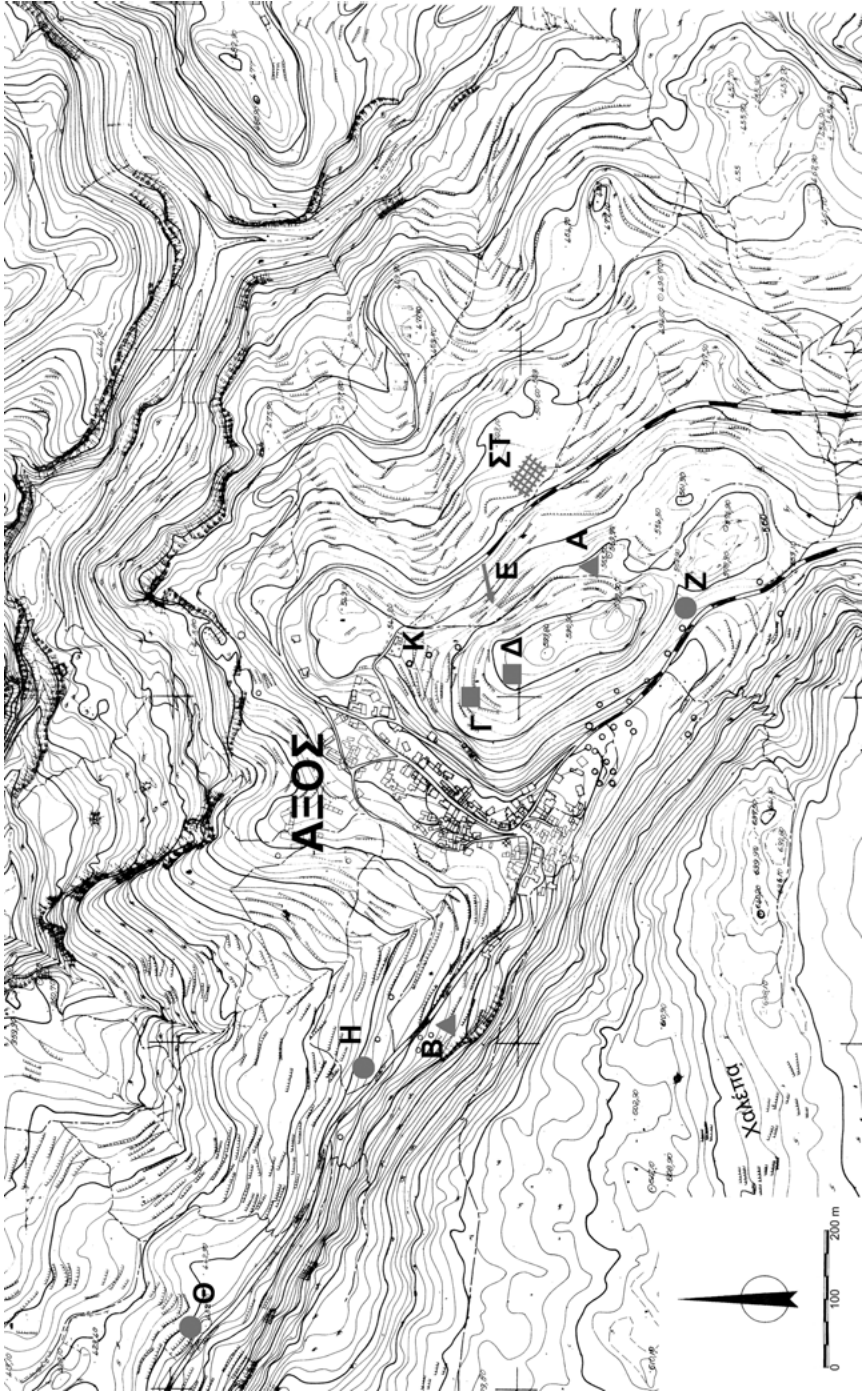


Fig. 1: Axios. Topographical plan

terracotta offerings found at the same temple¹⁸. Regarding the excavation of the temple on the east slope of the acropolis, it must be pointed out that nowhere is there a reference to pottery, and as there is no stratigraphically definable archaeological context, the terracotta and bronze offerings are dated according to their style only¹⁹. The inscriptions, which were found in Axos, provide important information. However, none of them was found in a datable archaeological context and their date is based on the style of the scribe²⁰. The previous report on the research history demonstrates the research gaps and problems in order to underline the limitations in drawing any conclusions.

The Sanctuary on the East Side of the Hill

Down from the peak, on an oblong terrace in the east slope of the hill, the remains of a temple were revealed by Halbherr²¹. The ruins of the temple are not visible and the plan of the temple published by Levi (Fig. 2)²² was not accompanied by a topographic sketch, thus causing a misunderstanding about its right location²³. The terrace of the temple was known to the villagers, who helped in finding its location (Fig. 1: A). In 2008, using geophysical methods the exact place of the temple was found and the recently corrected plan given by Aversa and Monaco fits the results of the geophysical investigations exactly (Fig. 3)²⁴.

The temple is rectangular, 6.5 by 14.70 m, and has an orientation from south to north, with the entrance at the south²⁵. According to the corrected plan (Fig. 2), the earlier phase of the revealed building dates back to the Hellenistic period. A Roman renovation involved the eastern wall and the two internal dividing walls²⁶. The “*peribolos*” visible at the front of the temple lies under it (Fig. 2), but its use

¹⁸ Rizza 1967/1968, 213 n. 1. 2. 4. 5; 302, included figurines, which were also found in other places of Axos.

¹⁹ Aversa – Monaco 2006, corrected the plan of the temple at the east side of the hill. Unfortunately, the documents of the research at the north site have been lost.

²⁰ Tzifopoulos 2006b, 213 tab. 80 inscriptions were found in Axos: 59 of them were published by Guarducci, only 12 of them have been located, while 47 have not. 21 inscriptions were found after Guarducci's publication. 12 of the 80 inscriptions are related to the period from 750–500/450 BCE and only 4 of the 12 have been located. IC II, v; Οικονομάκη 2005, 68 f.

²¹ Halbherr 1899, 359; Levi 1930/1931, 50–56; Aversa – Monaco 2006, 48–52.

²² Levi 1930/1931, 50–56 figs. 5. 6.

²³ Prent 2005, 477, categorized it as suburban.

²⁴ Σαπρής 2009, 87–90; Τέγου 2010, 493.

²⁵ Levi 1931/1932, 50–56; Aversa – Monaco 2001, 48–52 fig. 2.

²⁶ Aversa – Monaco 2006, 50–52; Levi 1931/1932, 51 f., recognized an Archaic, a Hellenistic and a Roman phase, the visible ruins belonged to the two latter phases; Halbherr 1899, 539, the temple was a construction without columns, but with a pronaos, cella and opisthodomos and was renovated during the Roman period and the finds support without a doubt that it existed in the 6th century BCE.

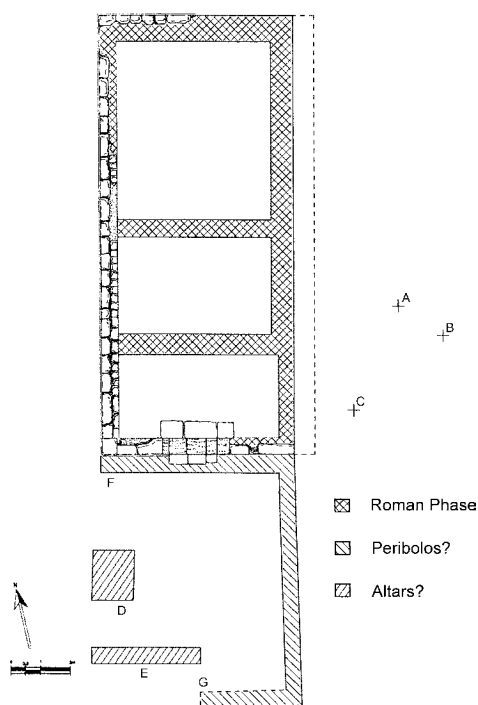


Fig. 2: Plan of the temple on the east slope of the acropolis

and date remain unknown. There is no clear evidence for a cult building before the Archaic period in the sanctuary²⁷. Furthermore, there is no information about the presence of a hearth or a *bothros* in its interior²⁸. Even though the existence of tiles and a terracotta palm antefix was mentioned²⁹, which indicate a gable³⁰, the type of roof was not examined. Regarding the roof, two soft limestone sculptures, which were found during the excavation, may be of particular interest. The first is a part of the lower jaw of an animal, probably a lion (Fig. 4)³¹. The tongue protrudes intensely and has along a profound furrow. These features may indicate that it was the waterspout of a gable roof³². It could be generally dated to the Archaic

²⁷ Aversa – Monaco 2006, 51 f.

²⁸ Kalpaxis 2004, 111 a *bothros* founded in the interior of the temple at Pyrgi; D'Acunto 2002, 189, 196–199 fig. 4, a *thesauros* existed in the temple of the acropolis of Gortyn

²⁹ Levi 1931/1932, 57; Rizza, 1967/1968, 268 no. 198, it is not located; Τζιλιγκάκη 2005, 184 f., date it to the end of the 6th century BCE until 480 BCE.

³⁰ See Τζιλιγκάκη 2005, 122 f., for temples with tiles.

³¹ Rizza, 1967/1968, 287 (Inv. No: Α 37, now in Rethymnon, Arch. Mus., 0,9 m high, 0,168 m long);

³² Rizza, 1967/1968, 287; D'Acunto 2001a, 62, proposes that it may belong to a lion sculpture, which was at the entrance of the temple.

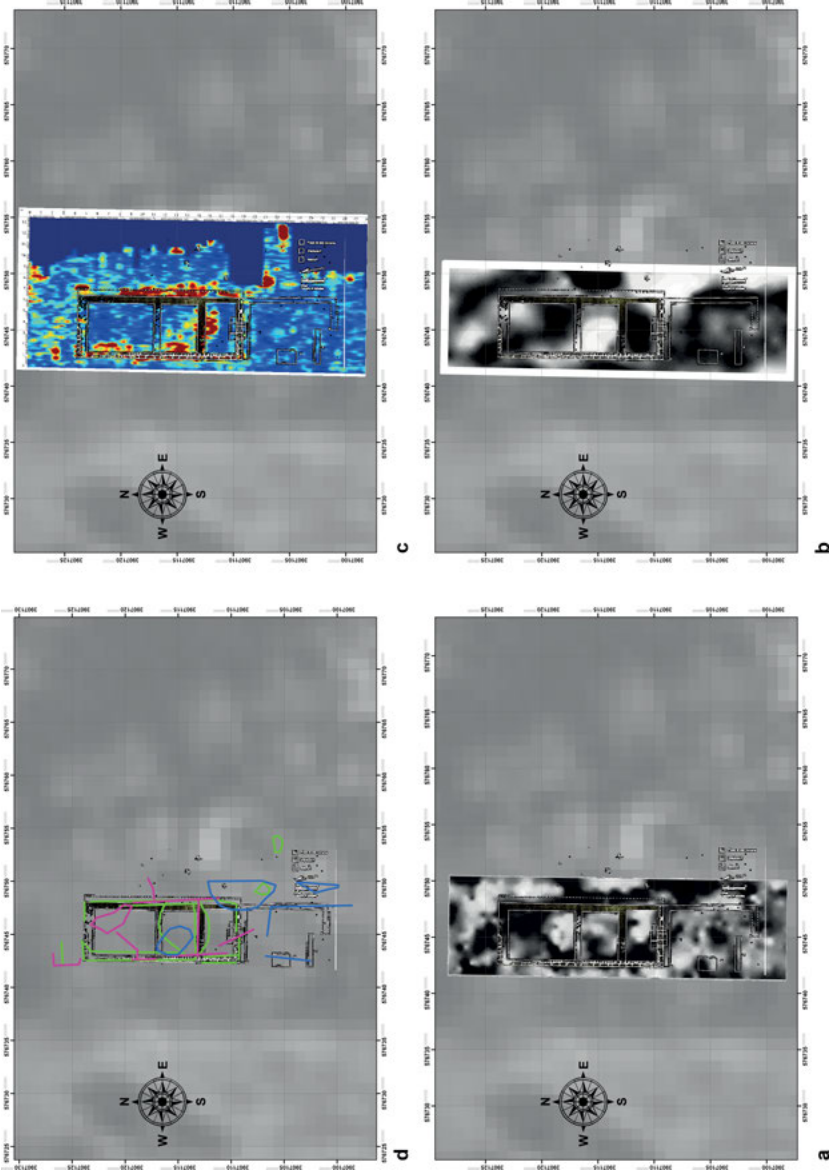


Fig. 3: Geophysical survey results over the area of the sanctuary superimposed on the temple plan: a. vertical magnetic gradient, b. soil resistance, c. GPR measurements, d. diagrammatic interpretation of the geophysical anomalies.



Fig. 4: Waterspout

period³³, however, the fragmentary condition makes it difficult to propose a more precise date. The other is an Archaic head fragment from a high relief of excellent art³⁴. The face is turned to the right and it is made to be seen in three quarters. Due to its asymmetrical characteristics, it is categorized as an architectural sculpture and is dated to about 590–570 BCE³⁵. The assumption that it belongs to a dado frieze³⁶, like the ones from Gortyn or Prinias³⁷, is not be correct. The head of Axos, according to the stylistic analysis, belongs to a later period³⁸ when sacred architecture and decoration had evolved and the roofs of buildings had become the favored areas for figural decoration³⁹. The asymmetrical characteristics, recognized in the

³³ Adams 1978, 128 f.; Gabelmann 1965, 30–36. 73–74; D’Acunto 2001b; Λεμπέση 2001, 5–8, for depictions of lion in the Cretan Archaic art.

³⁴ Alexiou 1952 (Heraklion, Arch. Mus. 34/383, 0,162 m high, 0,115m width, 0,106 m. max. depth).

³⁵ Adams 1978, 80–85, date it to 590–570 BCE because it is reminiscent of the relief of Corcyra temple; Alexiou 1952, date it to 560–550 BCE and identified it as a sphinx; Rizza 1967/1968, 285–290 fig. 55.

³⁶ Adams 1978, 84 believes that it should have been originally 80–90 cm high.

³⁷ D’Acunto 2002, 204–207. 215, Gortyn: 640–620 BCE; Prinias Tempel A: D’Acunto 1995, 29 f. 52.

³⁸ Adams 1978, 80–85; Alexiou 1952.

³⁹ Marconi 2007, 8; Osborne 2009, 249 tab. 7.

head of Axos⁴⁰, had value only if the relief was visible from the bottom to the top of the temple. If the relief head of Axos was indeed part of an architectural decoration, the possibility should not be excluded that it belonged to a pediment⁴¹. This has no parallel in Crete during this period, but on the basis of the available evidence it cannot be testified⁴². Likewise, the recently proposed dating of the revealed building in the Hellenistic area cannot be accepted without reservation⁴³, especially as the archaeological evidence is not stratigraphically definable.

The excavation at the sanctuary revealed a large number of terracottas depicting mostly female figurines dated from the Subminoan to the Hellenistic period⁴⁴. At three spots along the east side of the temple⁴⁵, a group of bronze arms/armor was found, which includes one helmet, decorated with winged horses, nine *mitrai*, part of a cuirass and two lance heads dated to the end of the 7th and the first half of the 6th century⁴⁶. Three *mitrai* are decorated in relief with flanked winged horses, and two are incised. The incised decoration of the one *mitra* depicts lions flanking a tripod, from which a figure holding a shield and a sword emerges. The depiction has been interpreted as an epiphany and the figure is related to Apollo, Athena and Zeus⁴⁷.

Some inscription fragments belong to the finds there⁴⁸. However, the deity who is worshiped there is not epigraphically attested. The excavator recognized the deity as Aphrodite-Astarte on the basis of the terracotta figurines⁴⁹. The goddess has been attributed a warrior character based on the arms and armor votives. For this reason the deity is also identified as Athena, Artemis⁵⁰, as an anonymous warrior

⁴⁰ Alexiou 1952, 4–6; Rizza 1967/1968, 287–290; Adams 1978, 80–85.

⁴¹ D'Acunto 2001b, 320 n. 27

⁴² Τζιλιγκάκη 2005, 186 f.

⁴³ Aversa – Monaco 2006, 50, contra Shaw – Shaw 2000, 704.

⁴⁴ Rizza 1967/1968, 211–302. 212 fig. 1, the terracotta figurines have been found at the points D, E, F and G in the front of the temple; Aversa – Monaco 2006, 48, most of the terracotta figurines have been found at the points D, E and fewer at the points F, G.

⁴⁵ Levi 1930/1931, 57; Monaco 2006, 118 fig.1.

⁴⁶ Levi 1930/1931, 57–146; Monaco 2006, 128 f. tab.1: included all the proposed dating concerning the bronze armors. This is the date of origin and not the date of dedication.

⁴⁷ Levi 1930/1931, 131–134; Guarducci 1937, 7–12; Κοντολέων 1961/1962; Hoffmann 1972, 37; Stampedoulidis 2011, 41; see Sporn 2002, 228, for more references.

⁴⁸ IC II, v 12–14; Perlman 2010, 81 n. 9 tab. 1; Οικονομάκη 2005, 69 tab. 1.

⁴⁹ Halbherr 1899, 539; Levi 1930/1931, 50; Rizza 1967/1968, 291–293; Aversa – Monaco 2006, 50; Monaco 2006, 118 insist on the opinion that the goddess was Aphrodite. According to them, the two terracotta figurine types A: Rizza 1967/1968, 252–254 nos. 130. 131. 134. 135 fig. 21 and B: Rizza 1967/1968, 254 nos. 132. 133 fig. 21; 258–260 nos. 150–153 fig. 23, depict Aphrodite; contra Sporn 2002, 230; Τέγυ 2006, both types are also represented in the sanctuary at Stou Gerakaro. The *anasyrma* gesture figurines are mainly those that link it to Aphrodite, Rizza 1967/1968, 291–293; Flemberg 1991, 21 f. n. 67. 69. 70; Prent 2005, 495.

⁵⁰ Hoffmann 1972, 16. 35–37; Kirsten 1937, 1689.

goddess who served as a patron of warriors⁵¹ and as Aphrodite Areia⁵². However, convincing as it may seem that Aphrodite Areia was worshiped there, the subject concerning the devoted deity in the sanctuary should remain open, as the identification of Aphrodite is based only on a few terracotta figurines⁵³. Furthermore, the probability that there was also a male divinity worshiped, as two terracotta male heads and the fragmentary relief of a heterosexual couple may indicate, remains unclear due to the scant archaeological records⁵⁴.

The dedication of bronze arms/armor⁵⁵ underlines the significance of the sanctuary among the local community⁵⁶. Whether the armor was dedicated as war booty⁵⁷ or not⁵⁸, these acts had semantic meaning and could be interpreted as an attempt by the authorities to inspire the warriors of the community, which was warrior-oriented⁵⁹. If the relief head belongs indeed to an architectural decoration, it would be expected that its iconographic subject would serve the same purpose⁶⁰.

Although the remains of the city walls⁶¹ are visible in a lower terrace to the north of the temple (Fig. 1: E), and some ruins of walls are visible in the surrounding area, the diachronically spatial relationship of the temple to the rest of city remains unknown. The gaps and the questions addressed in the research of the sanctuary require detailed reconsideration of all the evidence.

51 Perlman 2010, 105–107.

52 Lebessi 2009a, 537–539, gives some literary evidence which may shed light on the nature of the worship activities at the Axos sanctuary. On the eve of the Battle of Salamis, the city of Corinth charged the women to ask Aphrodite to inspire “love of battle” in their menfolk; on the day after the Greek victory over the Persians, the women returned to the sanctuary of the goddess on the Acrocorinth with offerings of thanksgiving: Ath. 13, 573 c–d; Plut. Mor. 871 a–b; Strab. 8, 6, 21; Perlman 2010, 103–107. 109. This fits with what is proposed recently about participation of citizen women in the rituals of war.

53 There are eight Daedalic figurines depicted in the *anasyrma* gesture. One is Hellenistic where Aphrodite appears naked, Rizza 1967/1968, 238 no. 86 fig. 12; 260 no. 154 fig. 23; Aversa – Monaco 2006, 50. The *anasyrma* type is analyzed by Lebessi 2009a, 529–532 and Pilz 2011, 300–305.

54 Rizza 1967/1968, 232 no. 76. 77 fig. 10; 287 fig. 56, Inv.No Λ 36, now in Rethymnon Museum; Prent 2005, 249; Lebessi 2009b, 543 fig. 9.

55 It must be underlined that we have the date of origin and not the date of dedication, Haggis et al. 2011, 15 f. For a general discussion about the dedication of arms and armor, see Kotsonas 2002, 45–48; Prent 2005, 383–388. 703 tab. 4; Perlman 2010, 102.

56 Prent 2005, 416 f.; Pilz 2009, 50.

57 Prent 2005, 383–388 tab. 4; Perlman 2010, 98–103.

58 Viviers 1994, 229–259; Monaco 2006, 130–133.

59 The word πόλεμος occurs in the inscriptions IC II, v 5; IC II, v 6; Perlman 2010, 82–87, joins both inscriptions.

60 D’Acunto 1995, 49, suggests a similar interpretation for the frieze of Prinias Temple A; Marinatos 2001, 83–88.

61 Up to now the city walls have not been researched, so their date remains unknown.

The Monuments at the North Side of the Hill

The north face of a particular monumental construction dominates in approximately the middle of the north slope (Figs. 1: Γ; 5). Two parts of rock were roughly worked on and the space in-between was filled with polygonal blocks. At the bottom of the construction, next to the corner of the eastern rock, there is a duct, which continues uncovered to the north. The construction is 13 m long and 3.5 m high. Taramelli's report has a picture of it with the label *andreion*. However, in the text it is recognized as a Mycenaean *megaron* due to the masonry and the Mycenaean sherds found there.

Furthermore, Taramelli names another monument, the "*andreion*" of Halbherr⁶². Halbherr's "*andreion*" is related to another monumental construction, which lies about 50 m to the south of the first mentioned one in the north-west part of the acropolis plateau (Figs. 1: Δ; 6. 7). There is also a picture of this construction in Taramelli's review with the label "Sostruzioni di edifici primitivi ad Axòs"⁶³. According to Halbherr's report this building is the same one where in 1884 and 1887 several inscriptions were found⁶⁴. He mentions that in the area of the inscriptions, fragments of Archaic pithoi, devoted animal terracottas, a terracotta head of a wild boar and remains of sacrifices were found, which under other circumstances would allow one to consider the acropolis construction as a temple⁶⁵.

From Levi's publication and onwards this construction at the acropolis has been mainly considered as a temple⁶⁶. As to which divinities were worshiped there, Apollon Pythios, Apollon Delphinios and Athena have been suggested⁶⁷. The most widely accepted view is that the divinity is Apollon Pythios⁶⁸ because of the law subject in the Archaic inscription, which lies next to it⁶⁹. Levi's publication is accompanied by a plan, which reproduces Halbherr's sketch. With the help of the plan, Levi defined that the area where the terracottas and the remains of the sacrifices were found is next to the south-west wall of the construction. At the opposite side of the temple a step cut into the rock has been interpreted as an altar⁷⁰.

The recent research undertaken at the site by the Archaeological Service gives a new plan (Fig. 7) of the construction⁷¹. Unfortunately, the geophysical methods

⁶² Taramelli 1899, 312–314 fig. 5.

⁶³ Taramelli 1899, 312 f. figs. 5. 6.

⁶⁴ Halbherr 1899, 537–538; Aversa – Monaco 2006, 43.

⁶⁵ Halbherr 1899, 538; Levi 1930/1931, 47; Aversa – Monaco 2006, 43 f.

⁶⁶ Levi 1930/1931, 44–48; Aversa – Monaco 2006, 46 f.; contra Βασιλάκης 1988/1989, 144 f.; Metaxa-Prokopiou 1994, 585 f.

⁶⁷ Kirsten 1937, 1689 f.; IC II, 48; Perlman 2004b.

⁶⁸ Aversa – Monaco 2006, 46 f.

⁶⁹ IC II, v 1, p. 48–51.

⁷⁰ Levi 1930/1931, 47 f.

⁷¹ See Τέγου 2013, for a more detailed description.



Fig. 5: Monument with duct



Fig. 6: Western wall of the monument next to the inscription IC II, v 1

could not be applied to the area nearby because of the rocky ground⁷². The construction is situated at the north-west side of the lower part of the acropolis summit. It consists of two walls, the northern and the western built with roughly hewn

⁷² Τέγου 2010, 493.

polygonal blocks and has an orientation roughly from north to south⁷³. Next to the northern wall lies the big Archaic inscription⁷⁴.

The two walls have foundations in the bedrock, which are not straightened along their length. The measurements of the walls fit those given by Levi⁷⁵. The west wall (Figs. 5. 7) is 11.30 m long and 2.45 m high and the north (Figs. 6. 7) is 9.80 m long and 2.12 m high. In the third layer of blocks in the north wall, there is a kind of *euthenteria*. A block in the middle of the north wall, above the *euthenteria* shows how the blocks were worked on: only the façade was straightened, the sides were partly straightened near the edges with the façade and then they were worked on in a way to configure its back as a wedge. The same technique was used on inscription IC II, v 1.

According to the new plan of the construction, there is no architectural evidence to ascribe it to any particular building for the following reasons. Half of the southern part of the interior is occupied by bedrock (Figs. 7. 8). The measurements of the southern and eastern walls given by Levi were transferred to the new plan. If there had been a southern wall, it would have been built on the bedrock, but there are no signs of any foundation. A rock protrusion next to the outside of the supposed wall is one more argument against this hypothesis. Levi reports that a big block, worked on in the same manner as those of the inscription, formed the northern part of the eastern wall, while the rest of the wall was destroyed. It is probably the same block that lies on the bedrock in the middle of the construction (Figs. 7. 8). In situ along the supposed eastern wall there is a lack of any evidence to support its existence.

It must be made clear that the bedrock inside the construction is the final part of the rocky area, which extends to the east. Next to the northern site of this rocky area in a distance of 14.50 m east of the construction is Halbherr's altar (Figs. 7. 8). It seems to be the remains of a quarried rock, which is commonly found in various parts of the ancient city. Even more, if it is supposed that there had been a building such as the one in Halbherr's sketch, the access to it would have been problematic. There is no evidence of an entrance in the walls and there could not have been one because of their retained character and the height differences between the inside and the outside. In addition, the rock protrusion does not allow for an entrance at the southern side. There could have been one at the eastern side, but in this case there is not enough space for any activity in front of the main entrance of the building.

The construction looks more like a retaining wall corner, which incorporates the bedrock and forms a small terrace. The only real evidence of this construction is that the Archaic inscription was walled in. The inscription, of which only a part

⁷³ Levi 1930/1931, fig. 3, the orientation according to the plan is wrong

⁷⁴ IC II, v 1, p. 48–51.

⁷⁵ Levi 1930/1931, 45–47.



Fig. 7: Plan of the monument. Scale 1:50 (1: IC II, v1; 2: Halbherr's altar)



Fig. 8: Halbherr's altar east of the monument

is saved, is dated to about 525–500 BCE⁷⁶ and its text concerns an agreement between the state and workers, which renders them exempt from paying taxes and gives them the right to receive rations in the *andreion*. This gives the terminus ante quem, of the building of structure, of its renovation or of its addition to it. According to the way the inscription was made, it could be read from the outside, and perhaps it was walled in the northern side. At this point it is important to point out that Halbherr claims that this was the building in which several inscriptions were found in 1884 and 1887⁷⁷. However, it is not clear from the evidence if other inscriptions were involved in the construction and moreover if the interior was used for the same purpose.

The *bouleuterion* in the *agora* of Gortyn, built in the second half of the 6th century with law inscriptions in its walls, is the closest parallel to the monument of Axos, not in the narrow sense of the architectural type of the building, but more as a public structure with inscriptions, which is not a temple⁷⁸. Halbherr and Levi say that a big cistern, divided into two rooms with plaster in the walls and a depth of about 5.5 to 6 m, was excavated near the north-east wall of the temple. Accord-

⁷⁶ IC II, v 1; Perlman 2004a, 188–191. 195; Οικονομάκη 2005, 69 See Tegou 2013, 97–99, for more references.

⁷⁷ Halbherr 1899, 538; Perlman 2010, 80 f.

⁷⁸ Di Vita 2010, 107; Lippolis 2011, 25. For further discussion, see Tegou, forthcoming.

ing to the sketch it must be situated next to the north wall of the construction in the site where inscription IC II, v 1 lies. During the new research at the place, a cistern or any signs of it could not be found. Moreover, the space as it is now is not adequate for the existence of one (Fig. 7). The modern use of the area, especially the building of dry-walls, may have caused some changes in this place.

It is expected that in the acropolis of Axos more than one cistern would have existed and some of them would have been public⁷⁹. It is likely that the structure discussed above (Fig. 5), which is situated 50 m to the north of the monument next to the inscription IC II, v 1, is a cistern. This is only a hypothesis based on the existence of the duct at the bottom and the conclusions of the geophysical research which was conducted on the ground surface of the upper part (Fig. 9)⁸⁰. However, the existence of the duct suggests a more complicated construction for water supply⁸¹. Even though there are similarities in the masonry between this construction and the construction with the inscription IC II, v 1, the date of this monument as well as its use remain unclear.

In the terraces to the west of the construction, a trial excavation was conducted by Halbherr in 1899. According to his report the ruins revealed there were probably the remains of houses⁸². The finds are sherds of Archaic relief pithoi and vessels, loom weights and a stone lekani⁸³. The finds of this excavation, like those of the trenches next to the construction, have not been located yet. Thus, they cannot be dated precisely. Unfortunately, the geophysical investigations conducted there did not give further information about this area.

It is more likely that a public building was in the proximity of the construction, rather than a private one. Re-examination of old excavations⁸⁴ and new discoveries in other sites of Crete, especially the two Archaic civic buildings in Azoria⁸⁵ which include storage rooms and kitchens, make it possible to ascribe a civic character to the rooms found. In this context it is important to bear in mind that the text of the inscription is an agreement between the *polis* and workmen, by which they are exempt from all taxes and have the right to receive rations in the *andreion*⁸⁶, as was mentioned before.

⁷⁹ Sjögren 2008, 143; Tölle-Kastenbein 1990, 106–114, Cisterns are distinguished for drinking water and for other uses; Despotakis – Tsangarakis 2006, rectangular built cisterns for rainwater in public areas are known from the Hellenistic period in Dreros and Lato.

⁸⁰ Σαππής 2009, 81.

⁸¹ Hellner 2004, 194. 220 pl. 44, 4, the Theagenes Krene in Megara ca. 500 BCE. On the wall between the collecting and the drawing basin, there is a hole: a flow-regulating bronze-mechanism is provided.

⁸² Halbherr 1899, 538, mentions that he had a disagreement about this with De Sanctis.

⁸³ Levis 1931/1932, 48, reports that the lekani was found on a column. (Perhaps, this is the case of a perirrhanterion); Ψαρουδάκης 2004, 19, a perirrhanterion was found in Onythe.

⁸⁴ Ψαρουδάκης 2004, 13–28; Whitley 2011, 40 f.

⁸⁵ Haggis et al. 2011.

⁸⁶ IC II, v 1; Koerner 1993, 351–355 no. 101; van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994/1995, 123–125 no. 28; Perlman 2004a, 188–191. See Tegou 2013, 97–99, for more references. For a general discussion about *andreia*, see: Haggis et al. 2011, 6; Prent 2005, 450–460; Sjögren 2008, 83 f.

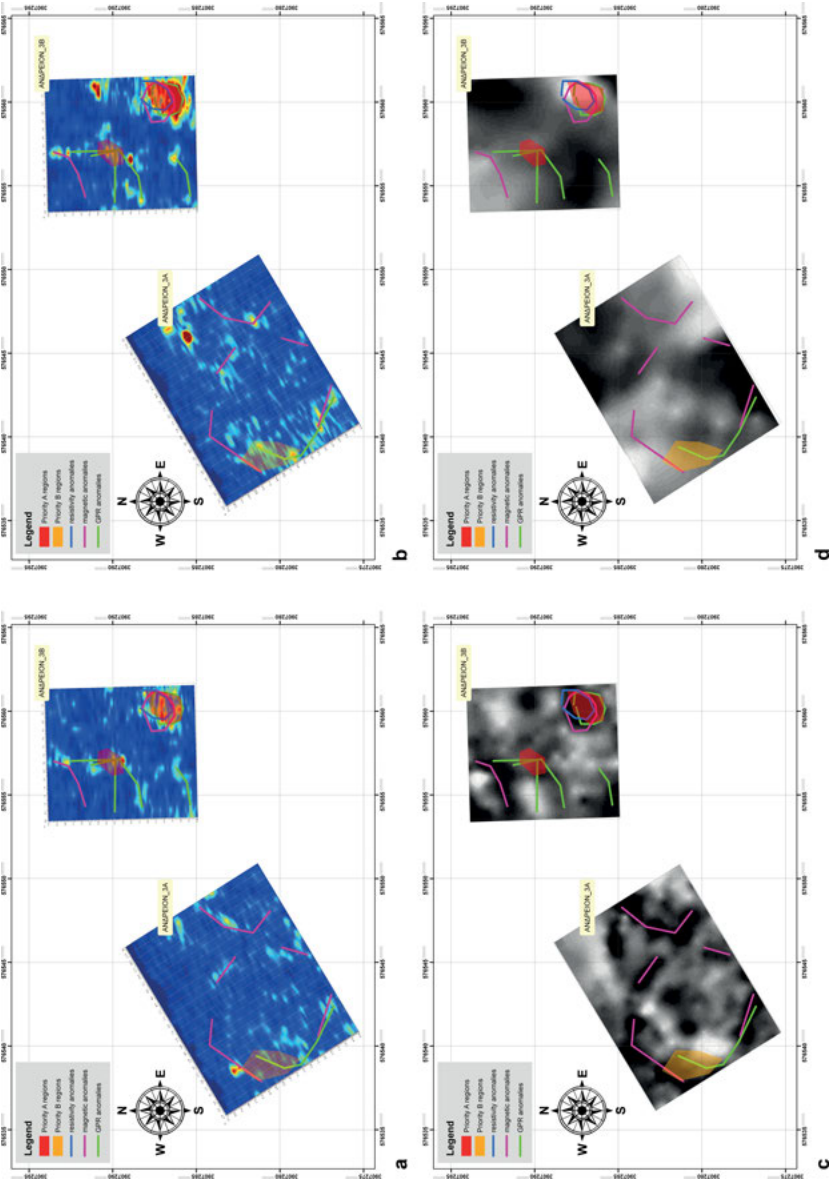


Fig. 9: Geophysical survey results over the area of the monument with duct: a. GPR measurements, b. GPR measurements, c. vertical magnetic gradient, d. soil resistance

According to Levi's publication, in the area to the west of the construction, which measures about 100 square meters, no ruins were found⁸⁷. The existence of an open space next to the construction could serve either for the reading of the inscription as well as a citizens' meeting place for political reasons. The remains of sacrifices found by Halbherr in the vicinity of the construction, which led him to associate it with a temple, could very well have been the rubbish from feasts⁸⁸ that could have taken place within the communal/social function of the *polis*⁸⁹.

On the north slope of the acropolis next to the monuments mentioned above, there are visible extensive rock-cut features and some important retaining walls, which show that the landscape was modified according to an organized plan for the public buildings⁹⁰. In this area, the Byzantine church of Ayios Ioannis (Fig. 1: K) is situated, where Pashley saw the ruins of a temple⁹¹. A relief dated to the second or first century BCE, which was dedicated to Artemis, was found there⁹². An Archaic stone gorgoneion, which obviously belonged to a sacred building, was found on the northern slope⁹³.

All this is fragmented evidence which accentuates the public character of this area. Whether the *agora* of Axos was located here, which is referred to indirectly on a sacred law inscription of the Late Classical or Early Hellenistic period,⁹⁴ remains to be proven by future investigations. Nonetheless, it is possible that one or more public spaces existed in other places of the ancient town also⁹⁵.

⁸⁷ Aversa – Monaco 2006, 44 f.

⁸⁸ Whitley 2011, 41.

⁸⁹ An earlier paradigm: In Sybrita 47 pits dug in the bedrock were excavated, which contained the remains of collective meals that had taken place between the 12th and 9th centuries and which were invested with a ritual value, D'Agata – Boileau 2009, 168.

⁹⁰ Τέγος 2012. In contrast to this, in the Hellenistic settlement, as it is known up to now, the architecture of the private houses was adapted to the natural environment as much as possible so that it would require less work. For discussion of architectural modifications, see Haggis et al. 2011, 2–4.

⁹¹ Pashley 1837, 152, the ruins of a temple are not visible due to the modern cemetery.

⁹² IC II, v 36; Sporn 2002, 226.

⁹³ Recently, it came to light that the gorgoneion, Rethymnon, Arch. Mus. Inv. Λ 467, (height 34.5 cm; width 25.5 cm; depth 20 cm) was found at the north slope. Καράγιωργα 1970, 32 f., had recognized in it an early type with oriental influences and dated it to the middle of the 7th century; D'Acunto 2001a, dates it to 625–590 BCE. It mostly resembles the antefixes of the *oikos* of the Naxians in Delos, and thus of Naxian origin from the Acropolis of Athens, see also Kokkorou-Alewaras 1995, 124 f. nos. 101, 102 fig. 99.

⁹⁴ Manganaro 1966, 11–16, the text of the inscription required the officials of Axos, the *kosmos*, to sacrifice a hecatomb to Zeus Agoraios if they failed to perform their duties to Apollon Pythios, as the law prescribed. It is possible that both temples were in the *agora* of Axos.

⁹⁵ For instance in Eleutherna: Θέμελης 2004, a Geometric-Archaic megaron was revealed on the eastern slope of the city; Καλαξής 2004, on the summit of the hill there is also a public area. See Sjögren 2008, 82–85, for a general discussion about public spaces.

The Sanctuary at stou Gerakaro

The sanctuary at stou Gerakaro on the north slope of Chalepa, to the northwest of the hill of Axos, can be categorized as a suburban one (Fig. 1: B)⁹⁶. The two excavations conducted there brought to light a big number of female terracotta figurines⁹⁷. According to the finds and the absence of architectural remains, it is suggested that an open air sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and Persephone existed there from the 6th century BCE to the 1st century ACE⁹⁸. From the Archaic and Classical terracotta figurines, three different types have been recognized⁹⁹, which were also found at the sanctuary from the east side (Figs. 10–12)¹⁰⁰. The most widespread type is C in which the figure is depicted in the *anakalypsis* gesture (Fig. 12). It is dated to the period from the 5th to the beginning of the 4th century and indicates that the flourishing period of the sanctuary coincided with the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. The terracotta statuettes and parts of terracotta statues (Figs. 13. 14) also



Fig. 10: Terracotta figurines from the sanctuary at stou Gerakou. Type A

⁹⁶ Sporn 2002, 327; Prent 2005, 245.

⁹⁷ Πετρουλάκης 1915; Σακελλαράκης 1965.

⁹⁸ Sporn 2002, 327 n. 2434, 2435; Τέγου 2006, 278–280. The cult of Demeter is in many places introduced during the Archaic-Classical period.

⁹⁹ Τέγου 2006, type A: standing female figure with the hands along the sides; dated to the first half of the 6th century; type B: standing female figure with the hands crossed under the chest, holding a pig, which is recognizable only in the latter examples, dated from the second half of the century to the second half of the 5th century; type C: Female figure depicted in *anakalypsis* gesture, dated to from the 5th to the beginning of the 4th century.

¹⁰⁰ Rizza 1967/1968, 244–246 no. 105 fig. 16; 252–254 nos. 130–133 fig. 21; 284.



Fig. 11: Terracotta figurines from the sanctuary at stou Gerakou. Type B



Fig. 12: Terracotta figurines from the sanctuary at stou Gerakou. Type C



Fig. 13: Terracotta statuette from the sanctuary at stou Gerakou



Fig. 14: Terracotta head from the sanctuary at stou Gerakou

belong to the same period¹⁰¹. Moreover, figurines of types B and C were also found at the sites Drosia, Chonos, Faratsi, which are in the Mylopotamos Valley and belonged to the Axos territory¹⁰². Additionally, it is noteworthy to emphasize that

¹⁰¹ Πετρουλάκης 1915, 43 fig. 3; Rizza 1967/1968, 252 no. 124 fig. 19; Τέγου 2006, 282–284 figs. 6. 14–16.

¹⁰² Φαράκλας et al. 1998, 82–84; Κεφαλίδου 2006; Sporn 2006.

the iconographic types depicted in the figurines, statuettes and statues during the 5th century are based on mainland prototypes¹⁰³.

Epilogue

The monuments discussed in this article all belong to the public domain. There is no evidence of private houses during this period¹⁰⁴ and the available information from the cemeteries¹⁰⁵ cannot be used in this chronological context. The archaeological data are scant and the gaps in the research do not allow drawing any conclusions. However, some remarks could be expressed.

The terracotta votives found at the two sanctuaries demonstrate continuity from the Subminoan through the Archaic and Classical to the Hellenistic period. Furthermore, the terracotta figurines found at the sanctuary at stou Gerakaro indicate that it flourished during the Classical period. The arms/armor and terracotta votives and the sculptures revealed in the sanctuary at the east side of the city underline its significance for the community and demonstrate that the religious practices that took place there during the first half of the 6th century also had a political impact.

At the end of the 6th century, the inscription IC II, v 1 was walled in a construction which looks more like a retaining wall corner than a building or a temple, as has been claimed in the past. This inscription informs us that the *polis* commissioned craftsmen to execute a big work. However, the fragmentary text of the inscription does not give precise information about the kind of the work, thus it cannot be identified with specific constructions situated in the acropolis of Axos.

The previous review was an attempt to demonstrate synoptically the archaeological record of Axos for the period from ca. 600–400 BCE, which shows not only continuity in the life of the city but also connections with the world outside of Crete¹⁰⁶ as the finds of the period indicate, whether they are architectural decoration or terracotta figurines.

103 Sporn 2006, 212–214; Erickson 2005, 646.

104 Τέγου 2012. In Panagia (Fig. 1: ΣΤ), where remains of a Hellenistic quarter were revealed, an earlier phase has not been recovered up to now.

105 Vessels which were found at Teichio/Megalos Trafos (Fig. 1: Ζ) are dated to from LM IIIB to the Protogeometric Period; Taramelli 1899, 314 fig. 7; Kanta 1980, 20 figs. 83, 2–9. At the same place a rescue excavation was conducted after recovering an Early Archaic painted pithos from a villager. A total number of 104 Hellenistic-Roman burials were recovered; Πολογιώργη 1983, 370; Προκοπίου 1991–1993. Vessels recovered at Limnostratiari (Fig. 1: Θ) indicate the existences of another Early Iron Age cemetery, Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 1991; Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 2004, 34 fig. 23.

106 These were partly trade connections. Regarding this, it is worth mentioning the reference of Hdt. 4, 154–156, that Themiston from Thera was a merchant at Axos, although it concerns an earlier period, Stampolidis 2006, 60–64.

Illustration Credit

Fig. 1. 4–8. 10–14: 25th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities

Fig. 2: after Sporn 2002, pl. 17, 1

Fig. 3. 9: A. Sarris

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Brice Erickson

Mind the Gap: Knossos and Cretan Archaeology of the 6th Century

This conference comes at an opportune moment for me, a breathing space between the recent publication of my book on Archaic and Classical Crete and the first of several planned study seasons at Priniatikos Pyrgos, a port town in the bay of Mirabello on Crete¹. This pause has given me time to reflect on the state of Cretan archaeology in the 6th century and what I see as a substantial shift in priorities and focus over the past ten years. My paper presents a critique of these new paradigms by revisiting an old problem: Knossos and the so-called gap in the 6th century (ca. 575–525). The trend now is to ignore the problem altogether, but there is much to be gained by using Knossos as a lens through which to examine our assumptions about the relationship between archaeology and history and competing views of history. In addition, Knossos raises awareness of the continuing repercussions of the Minoan paradigm in archaeological research on Crete.

When I began work on Crete in the late 1990s, the set of questions and the tools available to those interested in the Archaic and Classical periods seemed radically different from the state of research today. The overarching question then was how to account for the island's greatly diminished material record and apparent artistic decline in the 6th century. Knossos was the presumed type site for the island, where the archaeological gap was most pronounced and clearly defined in chronological terms. There were few publications of other Archaic Cretan sites, but those we had seemed to point to a similar lacuna. These sites with apparent habitation breaks included, among many others, Phaistos, Gortyn, Prinias, Dreros, and Praesos. For over twenty years some of the best minds in Classical archaeology had wrestled with the question of the Cretan gap and its historical implications. Pierre Demargne saw it mainly as an issue of artistic impoverishment, whereas John Boardman, Nicolas Coldstream, Sarah Morris, Didier Viviers, and others framed the problem in demographic and historical terms². The apparent absence of evidence, however, discouraged sustained analysis. The emphasis on Minoan remains had long worked against improved understanding of the Archaic period. Cretan archaeology of the historical periods was not a coherent discipline, and certainly not a mature field, in the 1990s.

Dr. Brice Erickson, Department of Classics, 4001 HSSB, University of California, Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, CA 93106, U.S.A., berickson@classics.ucsb.edu

¹ Erickson 2010a.

² Demargne 1947, 348–353; Boardman 1982; Coldstream – Huxley 1999; Morris 1992, 169–172; Viviers 1994.

Now all has changed. The past ten years have seen the publication of five books about Archaic Crete, not counting my own. Although two of these, one a publication of Early Iron Age pottery from Eleutherna and the other an archaeological survey of Cretan sanctuaries³, only incidentally consider developments after ca. 600, three of these recent books deal squarely with the problematic 6th-century transition⁴. An outsider might wonder if this is becoming an overstudied period, a passing fad. I do not think so, but the spate of publications in recent years and other signs of interest in Archaic Crete are certainly surprising and would have been hard to predict in the 1990s. Strangest of all to me, the archaeological gap – that mysterious void framing past decades of scholarship – has disappeared from most new accounts. And it has disappeared without much explanation. Saro Wallace sums it up: “The most recent scholarship on the [6th century] totally rejects the notion of an ‘Archaic gap’”⁵. The once mysterious gap no longer concerns her either. What happened to the gap and should we still mind it?

These recent changes in the discipline have some of the makings of a Kuhnian paradigm shift, but I would not go this far. Archaeologists and historians of Archaic Crete are arguably a fringe group. Minoan archaeologists can afford to ignore what they are doing, and most Classical archaeologists pay little or no attention to Crete. There have been exceptions on both counts, of course, with 6th-century Crete briefly appearing in Ian Morris’s post-processualist narratives of Classical archaeology in the 1990s, primarily as an extreme case of archaeological invisibility⁶. But while Crete has not been completely ignored by outsiders, there is little reason to think that the new research priorities of Cretan archaeologists and their emphasis on the Archaic period will ever transform the discipline of Classical archaeology. Moreover, this kind of broader change is not the goal of the Cretan revisionists. Rather, they seek to steer Crete away from the old view of exceptionalism and bring the island squarely into the disciplinary mainstream by asking questions of broader significance, such as the nature of state formation⁷, questions of memory and the commemoration of the past⁸, and a deeper understanding of artifact production and consumption contexts. In short, they want Crete to seem less strange.

The simplest explanation for this shift in priorities is that new evidence has demanded a reassessment. The discovery of a well-preserved Archaic settlement at Azoria in 2002 and the swift publication of preliminary reports have turned the old model of a gap on its head (see Haggis Fig. 3 above)⁹. Whereas before we had an apparent

³ Kotsonas 2008; Prent 2005.

⁴ Sjögren 2003; 2008; Wallace 2010a.

⁵ Wallace 2010a, 330.

⁶ Morris 1998, 65–68.

⁷ Haggis et al. 2004, 344–346.

⁸ Wallace 2003; Sjögren 2008, 158–194.

⁹ Haggis et al. 2004; 2007; 2011a; 2011b.

break in the settlement sequence of most Cretan sites, now our most detailed view of a Cretan settlement in the Early Iron Age dates largely to the 6th and early 5th century. It is as if the island, after withholding evidence of this kind for so long, is making up for its former stinginess in spectacular fashion. The Azoria team certainly does not need to worry about an Archaic hiatus. But what are the implications of Azoria for the rest of the island? Should we imagine a Cretan landscape with many undiscovered Azorias, by which I mean sites with a significant 6th-century component? Was the impression of an Archaic lacuna on the island a result of the limited investigation of historical sites and particularly bad luck with respect to the 6th century? Furthermore, does Azoria permit us to suggest a broader trend of spatial remodeling and relocation, with populations abandoning Early Iron Age sites in favor of new locations not currently documented? This sort of settlement aggregation is what the excavators proposed happened at Azoria. Many, I suspect, would feel uncomfortable drawing so much from a single site. Just as the apparent absence of evidence at Knossos and the use of Knossos as a type site were arguably responsible for the former picture of an island-wide gap, enshrining Azoria as a new type site and inferring from it a healthy picture of the island in the 6th century seems equally problematic.

New evidence alone does not entirely explain why the Archaic gap has disappeared from recent scholarship. As important as the discovery of Azoria has been for the archaeology of Archaic Crete, there seems to be more to it than that. What I would suggest is that the way archaeology has been practiced on Crete and competing definitions of history help explain these different attitudes to the gap. Lena Sjögren has done more than anyone to remove the gap from most current discussions. In her first book on Archaic Crete, she compiled a survey of the archaeological evidence for settlement and sanctuaries, and what she showed was surprising for anyone acquainted with the scholarship on the gap¹⁰. Contrary to what most had assumed, the 6th century scores well in her graphs for settlement and sanctuary activity. If anything, there are even more sites with activity in the 6th century than there were in the previous two centuries. I will focus on the settlements (Fig. 1). By her calculation, the 6th century saw a slight increase in their number over the totals for the 8th and 7th centuries, with over 90 sites showing 6th-century occupation versus 70 in the 7th century and fewer than 80 in the 8th century. Even more surprising, her graphs are not based on a restudy and redating of material, but rather derive from the same published reports on which previous scholars had inferred a gap. How to account for this?

It turns out that different categories of time are producing two different lists of raw data. Sjögren organized the published data in century-length blocks so that a site with any 6th-century component appears on her list. But those troubled by the gap had always acknowledged that the “gap sites” have some 6th-century material. Knossos, the prime example of a gap site, is worth considering. Those who per-

¹⁰ Sjögren 2003, 23 diagram 1.

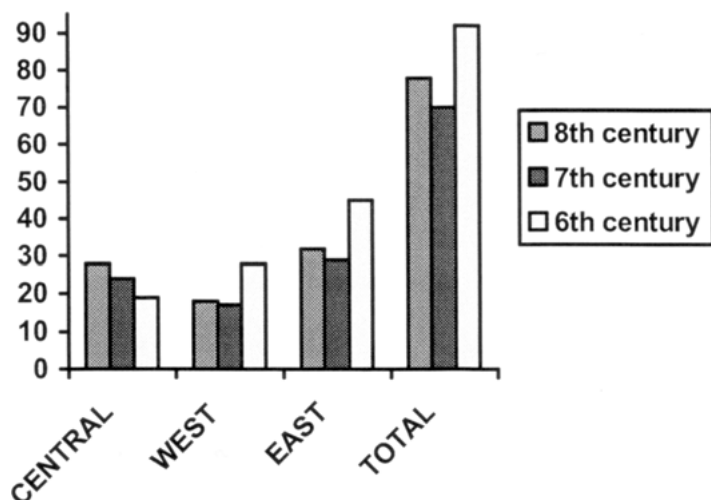


Fig. 1: Number of habitation sites on Crete from the 8th to the 6th century

ceived a gap in the sequence at Knossos used pottery chronologies to date the lacuna from 590 to 525, a gap of 60 to 70 years, to be precise¹¹. For Sjögren, the fact that Knossos has some 6th-century material justifies including it on the list of 6th-century settlements and, ultimately, making it part of a new pattern revealing a prosperous Archaic Crete. Another Archaic site included on her list is Prinias. Italian excavations have given us a relatively full picture of the Archaic settlement, with houses, temples, burial grounds, and a suburban pottery workshop. The exemplary Italian publications present nothing, nor do I know of anything, from Archaic Prinias later than the Late Orientalizing ceramic phase in the local sequence or Middle Corinthian in the case of the best dated ceramic imports. The excavators left open the possibility that this terminal phase might have extended into the 6th century and gave an end date for the site of ca. 575¹². They more recently presented an argument for dating the latest architectural remodeling phase of a few houses even later than this (as late as ca. 550), since the remodeling occurred in stratigraphic terms after deposits with Late Orientalizing material¹³. Even with these revisions, Prinias presents one of the starkest cases for discontinuity. Yet Prinias makes Sjögren's list of 6th-century sites, even though it is one of the more plausible cases of abandonment, with no 5th-century and little or no 4th-century material.

Most of the 6th-century sites on Sjögren's list have this sort of problem. Almost every one of the 42 settlements she cites for providing evidence of occupation

¹¹ Coldstream – Huxley 1999, 299–301.

¹² Rizza 1991, 331–337.

¹³ Rizza 2008, 298–302.

throughout the 8th to the 6th century have an apparent break in the sequence for much if not all of the 6th century¹⁴. Of these 42 sites, only Praisos and Azoria would satisfy the more traditional and restrictive definition of sites having no apparent gap and positive evidence for occupation ca. 575–525. The most typical additions to Sjögren's lists are sites with a closing phase dated by their excavators to the end of the 7th or beginning of the 6th century – a date signaling apparent discontinuity in the Late Orientalizing ceramic phase. Current ceramic chronologies are generally not precise enough to distinguish between the end of the 7th and beginning of the next century. For traditional scholarship, these Late Orientalizing closing dates were taken as negative evidence raising the spectre of a gap; for Sjögren, they count as 6th-century activity. Other additions to her lists are sites with a Late Archaic component plausibly coming at the end of the 6th century but having nothing earlier until the 7th or even 8th century. Most of these sites were known to Boardman and Coldstream but were not seen as directly relevant to the problem of the 6th-century gap. For Sjögren, these sites also count as 6th-century activity.

I do not mean to suggest that this is all simple numerical slight of hand. There is something more significant about the way Sjögren structures the evidence. It reflects a *longue durée* view of history as opposed to the fine periodization model of traditional Classical archaeology. And this *longue durée* model can be grounded in the practice of archaeological work on Crete. The Minoan paradigm of archaeology has meant that, with few exceptions, historical material came to attention almost by accident, most often through regional surveys designed to investigate the hinterland of a Bronze Age palace. But since survey methodology in the 1980s and later required comprehensive treatment of material by periods, surveyors picked up much that was post-Bronze Age. In other words, surveyors were forced to confront Archaic and indeed much later phases of activity, even though these periods were not part of the problem-oriented agenda of Cretan archaeology. It is not surprising that many of the landmark publications for post-Minoan archaeology have been survey reports, beginning in 1982 with the publication of the Lasithi project¹⁵. These influential surveys, including the Phaistos and Vrokastro projects, have tilted the direction of Cretan archaeology to periods after the Bronze Age and had important ramifications for the study of the Archaic and Classical periods.

There are two implications of this that are important for my discussion. The first is that survey archaeologists and *longue durée* historians typically think of change as a slow process and are satisfied with broad chronological units of analysis. This general point needs to be tempered somewhat: I do not mean that every survey archaeologist who has worked on Crete has conceived of change only in these ways. Exemplifying the more nuanced position of some surveyors, Vance Watrous's study of settlement patterns on the Lasithi plateau explains an apparent decline in the

¹⁴ Sjögren 2003, 23.

¹⁵ Watrous 1982.

number of settlements ca. 600 in both a broader context of landscape history and a specific historical process of punctuated changes involving relatively sudden environmental shifts and competition for resources¹⁶. Yet the overarching survey paradigm, while not dictating the direction of research on Archaic Crete, has nevertheless profoundly influenced many post-Minoan archaeologists. Wallace's background in survey archaeology is more evident than Sjögren's in their publications, but both show the influence of *longue durée* thinking¹⁷. For example, Sjögren defines the Archaic period broadly between 800 and 500 not simply out of convention but because she sees this long period as a cohesive unit of analysis¹⁸. Wallace is less explicit about dividing up time but gives strong indications that the long interval from the 10th century down to the 5th or 4th has essential characteristics and can be treated as a unit¹⁹. The second implication of dealing with large chunks of time in this way is that survey archaeologists have greater tolerance of blips in the quantity and quality of information. They were among the first in mainland Greece to address the problem of archaeological visibility and the forms of pilot error that can creep in and affect our picture of settlement history²⁰. Survey archaeologists, we should probably conclude, are less troubled by apparent gaps in a sequence.

In contrast, practitioners of what I would call the fine periodization model of Classical archaeology have worked in a long tradition of constructing ever more refined artifact chronologies. To them, gaps in a sequence are aberrations demanding explanation. Imagine how John Beazley would have reacted to a hole in the Attic figural sequence between 460 and 420. Chronological fuzziness is also to be avoided, on the rationale that tighter sequences allow the material to be tied to historical accounts and other independently dated evidence. Although it is often presented as a less biased approach, this fine periodization model, as James Whitley and others have recently emphasized with respect to Beazley's connoisseurship, carries its own ideological baggage²¹. The fine chronological distinctions these scholars are intent on making almost always go beyond what the strict evidence of stratified deposits will allow. These chronologies depend on subjective assessments of stylistic development with subtle and often unstated assumptions about the organization of craft production and the transmission of knowledge through generations of potters and across geographic boundaries. In short, these fine chronological frameworks are fragile edifices, more a creative production than an unproblematic reading of the evidence. Nevertheless, Early Iron Age Crete has certainly benefited from work of this type, with one of the greatest practitioners of

¹⁶ Watrous 1982, 22.

¹⁷ Sjögren 2008, 49–51; Wallace 2010b.

¹⁸ Sjögren 2008.

¹⁹ Wallace 2010a.

²⁰ Alcock 1993, 49–55.

²¹ Whitley 1997.

this model in the last century, Coldstream, devoting much of his career to establishing more refined sequences for Knossian fine wares²². Of course both the *longue durée* and the periodization model are powerful tools, and both have been employed together with impressive results, even in Classical Athens, where one might expect a monopoly of periodization studies.

If it is correct that the Archaic Cretan gap has largely disappeared from recent scholarship because *longue durée* historians have swept it under a rug and dismissed the concerns of periodization advocates, there is a price to be paid. It subtly reinforces a Bronze Age paradigm of archaeology on Crete. Bronze Age archaeologists get to have it both ways – regional surveys allow them to track the long evolution of palatial systems, while refined artifact chronologies help them construct fine grained site histories and propose punctuated historical changes. Not surprisingly, the debates over the existence and duration of subphases in, say, Late Minoan III are no less fierce than mainland Greek controversies over minute distinctions in the Classical period. The stakes in both cases are high, since both involve the power to shape historical narratives. No excavator of a Bronze Age palace would be satisfied with a date for an earthquake destruction in the Minoan period, full stop. For a similar reason, many working on Archaic Crete bristled not so long ago at the label post-Minoan, a term that suggested a kind of bland *longue durée* history in which nothing of consequence happened after the Bronze Age. The subtle message was that the fall of the palaces marked the end of significant history. A three or five hundred year Archaic period is a considerable improvement, but it too can be criticized for creating a static picture.

To sum up this part of the paper, my explanation for the vanishing gap in recent scholarship is twofold: Azoria has opened new avenues of research that do not need to be framed as a negative, while survey archaeologists or those influenced by their view of history are the ones now producing the main narratives of Archaic Crete. Survey archaeologists were best positioned to take the lead in writing a new history of Crete, since they were forced to grapple with Archaic and later material when most others were focused on the Bronze Age. Indeed, the primacy of survey over excavation has been a peculiar feature of Cretan archaeology of the historical periods. In mainland Greece, regional surveys usually came long after the initial excavation of type sites and establishment of rudimentary artifact sequences. Things have generally gone the other way on Crete. Surveys from the 1980s and 1990s posed questions that only very recently can be answered through excavation and the study of stratified contexts.

Vrokastro is a perfect example. From surface material, the surveyors were able in the 1990s to construct a relatively detailed model of rural settlement patterns in the Archaic period²³. This model is occasionally cited by those who want to dismiss

²² Coldstream 2001 is a distillation and culmination of this approach.

²³ Hayden 1997.



Fig. 2: Lekane from Priniatikos Pyrgos with impressed decoration on the exterior rim, dated to ca. 475–450

the notion of an Archaic gap as a mirage stemming from a supposed focus on urban centers²⁴. But the Vrokastro project team is now in a better position to refine regional artifact sequences thanks to excavations at Priniatikos Pyrgos, a small headland that in all likelihood constituted the western edge of the polis Istron. As a result of this restudy of the Vrokastro material, *longue durée* survey dating has now come up against the fine periodization model from excavation, and the results are surprising. One thing is clear: the dating of survey evidence requires substantial revision. Many of what were once thought to be Archaic and possibly even 6th-century rural settlements can now be shown to be 5th century in date. To take one example, a peculiar local artifact type frequently encountered on survey and previously considered diagnostic of the Late Orientalizing period, a lekane with impressed foliate decoration on the exterior rim, we now know from stratified deposits was produced in great number in the 5th century and more likely belongs to this and later periods rather than the end of the 7th century (Fig. 2)²⁵. Most other Archaic farmsteads found on survey probably date to the Late Orientalizing period, in other words, to the end of the 7th or early part of the 6th century. Not a single site or even a single pot sherd from the Vrokastro survey or the Priniatikos Pyrgos excavations can be dated in the lean period from ca. 575 to 525 or 500. Thus, more refined dating techniques are bringing the 6th century gap back into play, albeit only for this limited region.

From Priniatikos Pyrgos itself, there is nothing after the Bronze Age until the 7th century, with a huge increase in evidence in the 5th century. Indeed, much building activity took place within a narrow frame of ca. 475–450, with enough residual material before this building boom to take things back to ca. 500 but not

²⁴ Haggis et al. 2004, 344; Wallace 2010a, 330 f.

²⁵ Erickson 2010b, 317 f.

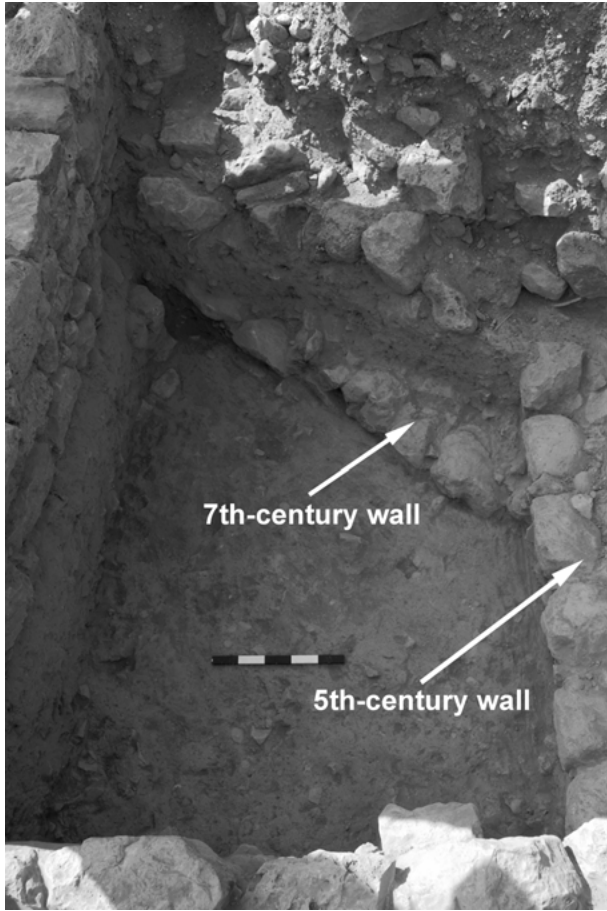


Fig. 3: Excavation photograph at Priniatikos Pyrgos, showing 7th-century wall underlying 5th-century wall

much if at all earlier. Frustratingly, nothing at the site clearly dates to the 6th century. Here in a nutshell is what we are finding throughout the site (Fig. 3). This photo shows a 7th-century wall running underneath a 5th-century wall on a different alignment, with no sign of anything in between dating to the 6th century. Preservation of the Early Iron Age is poor throughout the site, giving us only small glimpses of activity in such forms as a stretch of wall, a partially preserved interior floor, or an exterior paved surface elsewhere at the site. Producing a coherent plan of the 7th- and 5th-century settlement will be nearly impossible. Moreover, the focus of work on the Priniatikos Pyrgos headland means that when the project is finished we will have uncovered only a small portion of ancient Istron, with geophysical prospecting and more traditional survey results suggesting a much more extensive

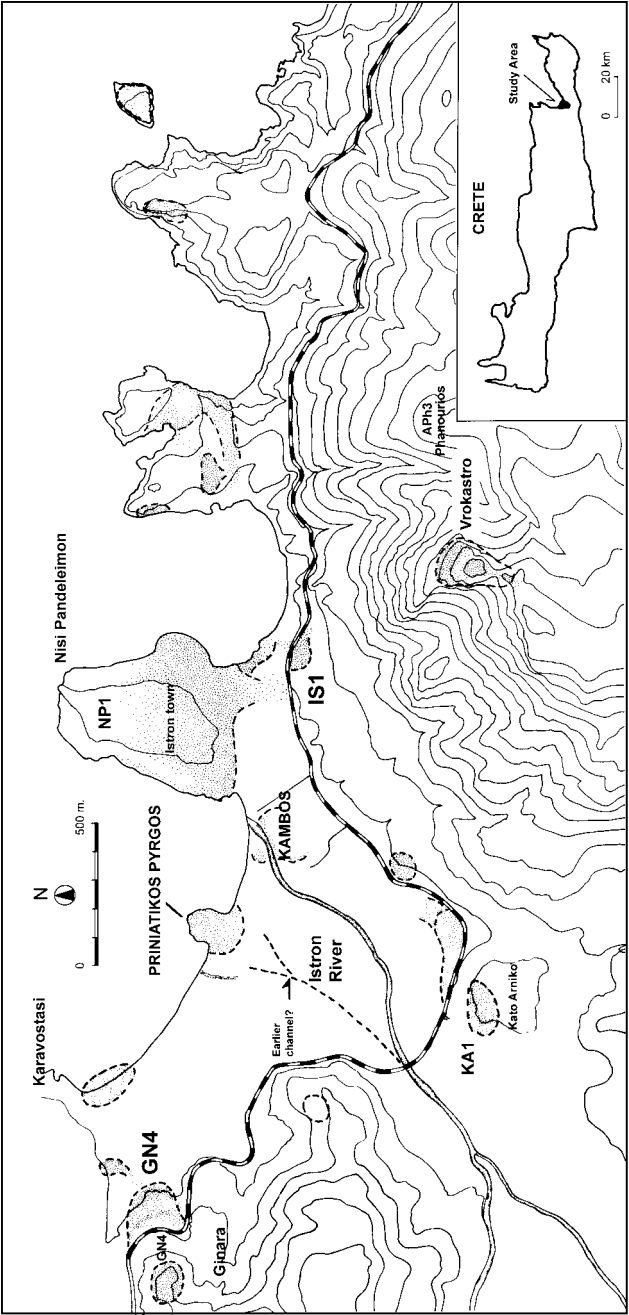


Fig. 4: Map of the Kalo Chorio area, Eastern Crete, showing Priniatikos Pyrgos and Nisi Pandeileimon

Classical site extending along the coast to the east and out on the Nisi Pandeileimon peninsula (Fig. 4). So there are ample reasons for not expecting full representation of all periods at the site. Still, it seems strange that stratigraphically we are missing only one phase between the 7th and 3rd centuries and that this missing period is the problematic Archaic gap. And so the 6th-century lacuna, so recently believed to be receding from research agendas in this area, refuses to go away, at least for those of us trying to understand Priniatikos Pyrgos and the Vrokastro region. Despite our best efforts to address the development of this site in the Archaic period, neither the building history of Priniatikos Pyrgos nor the stratigraphic record has provided any clues to explain the absence of 6th-century material.

On a more general level, the doubts survey archaeologists have long expressed about the gap have had a salutary effect, even to proponents of the periodization model. These doubts have led to a more nuanced characterization of the Archaic gap; no one now maintains it is an absolute, island-wide phenomenon. Rather, it is seen as a more variable quantity with different contours and possible explanations. More refined chronologies have had some notable successes plugging the Archaic holes in the local occupation sequences. Take, for example, the material from the Praisos survey, much of which was initially dated within a single broad bracket “Archaic to Hellenistic.” This mass of material resolved itself into a tighter picture of settlement activity, with a robust 6th-century phase. The 6th century is in fact the best-represented period in the Praisos survey, with one site alone (Site 14) producing over a hundred newly diagnostic 6th-century cups (Fig. 5)²⁶. This site appears to fall right in the middle of the Archaic gap as traditionally defined. And there are other sites for which more refined ceramic chronologies have revealed activity within what was once thought to be an Archaic void. One of these sites is Aphrati, provided that the attribution of material from the nearby sanctuary at Kato Syme to a source at Aphrati is accepted²⁷. I do not claim that we now have a fully reliable ceramic chronology here or elsewhere: the 6th-century local sequences are a patchwork reflecting the limited scope of excavations at Archaic sites and the unstratified contexts from which most of the evidence has come. In these circumstances, stylistic judgments and subjective interpretations of style play a greater role than they should. But I am convinced that fine-ware pottery has the most promise for making fine period distinctions and assessing the reported breaks in the island’s settlement, sanctuary, and burial records. Few other artifact types could ever be dated as well as the decorated fine wares, although occasionally inscriptions and sculpture, including monumental stone representations and small-scale terracottas, might be dated with enough precision to provide evidence relevant to the Archaic gap.

²⁶ Whitley et al. 1999, 249–251; Erickson 2010a, 201–216.

²⁷ Erickson 2002.

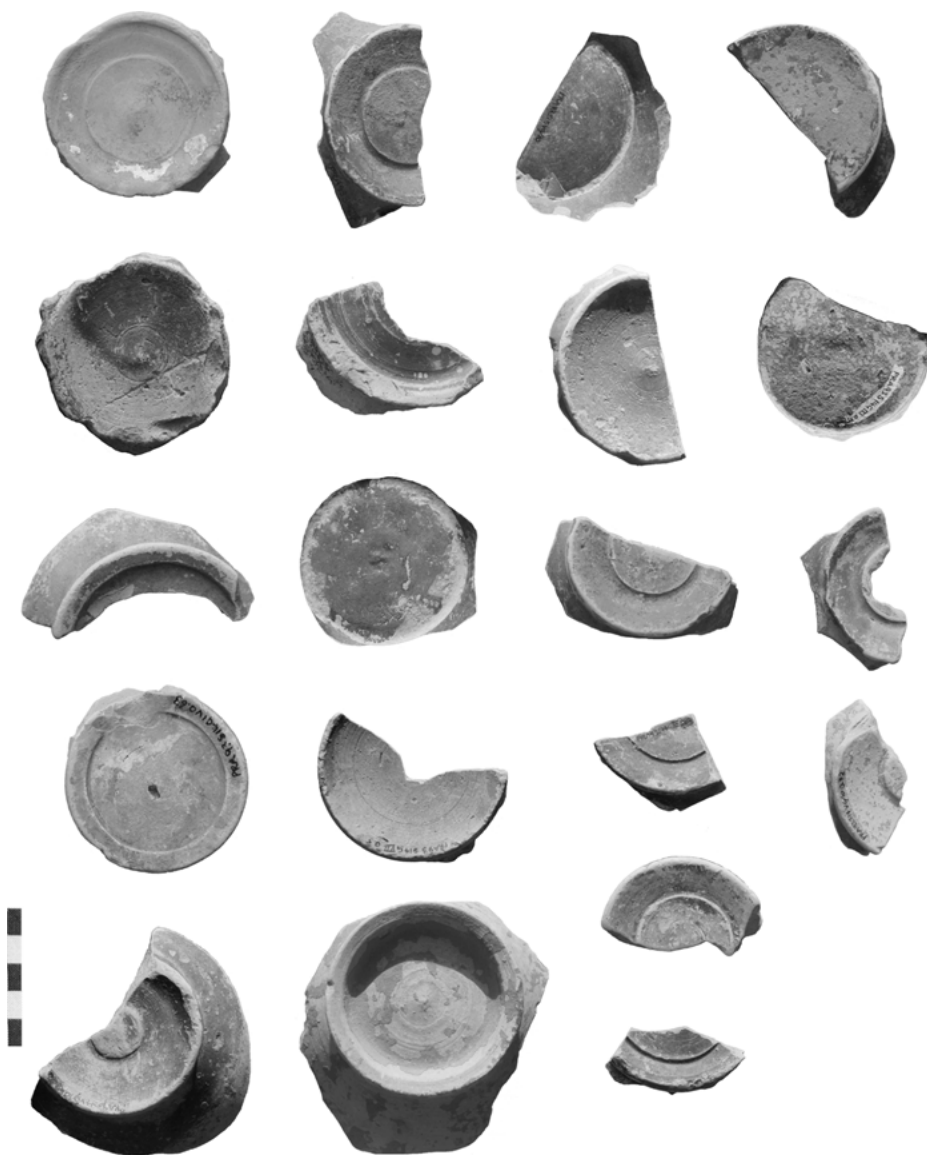


Fig. 5: High-necked cup bases from Praisos Survey Site 14, dated to ca. 575–525

My work on the local ceramic sequences hoped to show that the then prevailing view of the Archaic gap as an island-wide phenomenon was a distortion based on Knossos and the false assumption that Knossos was a suitable type site for the island in this period. Where recent excavations have encountered substantial Early Iron Age phases, as at Eleutherna, the 6th century is not infrequently present in the ceramic record, even if a conservative style makes it exceedingly hard to identify

activity²⁸. Moreover, stylistic analysis of terracotta figurines has demonstrated 6th-century activity at other sites, including sanctuaries at Axos and in its territory in the western part of the island and at other sites in the extreme east. Oliver Pilz's paper in this volume has provided a useful corrective to the impression of a substantial decline of figural imagery in the coroplastic art of the 6th century, a correction based on careful consideration of relatively well dated terracottas, mostly from sites in Eastern Crete (Lato, Siteia, and Praisos)²⁹. But there are enough other sites that have been closely scrutinized and still register a blank in every category of information in the 6th century. To my mind, there is still something that needs to be explained, although a much less striking pattern than previously thought.

One of the most intractable cases is Knossos. Despite more than a century of excavations and the best efforts of nearly every periodization specialist who has worked on Crete to formulate a local sequence, the Archaic gap will not go away. The more refined the dating gets, the starker the pattern – almost nothing, and nothing for certain, can be shown to date within the lean period from 590 or 575 to 525. My paper ends with a closer look at this site. The arguments I presented in my book for a real decline of Knossos based on the absence of archaeological evidence have met with stiff resistance from friends and colleagues over the years who have heard earlier versions³⁰. Reactions have generally ranged from extreme skepticism to outright denial of the possibility³¹. I probably will not change minds here, and I fear that the debate over Knossos will overshadow my efforts to document 6th-century activity at other sites, but it is worth trying to unpack some of the ideological baggage on both sides, since presuppositions, not hard evidence, are largely framing the responses.

My proposal for a military setback and temporary abandonment of Knossos is admittedly one of the weakest forms of argument, an argument from silence, and it could be overturned in an instant with a fresh discovery. Indeed, it would not take much to render this argument obsolete. One need not document continuity within the period 590–525 to dismiss it; rather, all it would take is the discovery of a single small deposit of pottery dating to the middle of the 6th century. Convincing counterproof could also come in the form of a thin layer between 7th- and 5th-century deposits with a few cup forms of intermediate style between Late Orientalizing and Late Archaic. Nothing of this sort has come to light. But while the hypothesized recession is based on an absence of evidence, some negative arguments are more compelling than others. Many suspect that negative evidence is not as meaningful on Crete, with so few investigated Archaic sites. It is reasonable to be cautious, but we should not be too dismissive of the negative picture from Knossos.

²⁸ Erickson 2010a, 45–67.

²⁹ Pilz, this volume.

³⁰ Erickson 2010a, 235–245.

³¹ Wallace 2010a, 328; Kotsonas 2011.

Early Iron Age Knossos is relatively well documented, in fact, extremely well documented by Cretan standards: our evidence comes not just from the rich sequences of tombs but from sanctuaries and various settlement contexts. In comparison, a far more limited excavation of a smaller and less significant site, a rural sanctuary at Kommos targeted for its Minoan remains, has produced a richer record of 6th-century activity than all of Knossos³². The pottery from Kommos should probably be viewed as representing a Gortynian tradition, while from Gortyn itself, where the Archaic period has not been a particular focus of excavation, enough presumably late-6th-century material has come to light by chance from one excavation of the Roman Odeion to create a sequence as full as that for Knossos³³. We should also not dismiss the negative evidence from Knossos simply because the scientific standards of excavation in the last century were not as rigorous as those of the most meticulous modern projects such as Azoria, since this deficiency would matter more if the controversy involved botanical or faunal remains or some issue for which reliable sampling procedures could be decisive.

The basic question of settlement continuity, however, can be addressed by more traditional methods, the presence or absence of decorated or even plain black pottery, the kind of material older excavators prized for its potential as a chronological indicator. Excavations at Knossos have produced a staggering amount of 7th-century pottery. For the 5th century, there is less, but still enough to make Knossos easily the best-documented Classical site on Crete. Moreover, the compilation of this archaeological record has not proceeded as haphazardly as some have suggested. British work at Knossos has had a long-standing emphasis on the historical periods. To take just one example, the Demeter sanctuary would count by any measure as a targeted, problem-oriented investigation of an historical polis. From all these contexts, however, hardly a single object can be dated between 590 and 525, and nothing would require a date within this time frame. This chronological pattern cannot be explained away as pilot error stemming from erroneous sequences for fine-ware pottery. Nowhere on the island is the local sequence better understood than at Knossos in the 7th and the 5th century. Yet not a single local pot fragment can be dated ca. 590–525. Of imports, we have a single Attic cup datable to the lean period of the 6th century, and its context leaves open the possibility that it arrived on Crete in the 5th century or later³⁴. No one has ever bothered to count the number of 7th-century pot sherds from the various excavations at Knossos, but I would not be surprised if this number were in the tens or hundreds of thousands. In a more targeted search for possible 6th-century material, in the late

³² Callaghan – Johnston 2000, 251–253.

³³ Erickson 2010, 178–180. Gortyn has an arguably fuller sequence than Knossos if we include a series of unpublished cups from a suburban spring sanctuary at Kamarakia, the earliest examples of which seem to date stylistically to 525 if not slightly earlier.

³⁴ Coldstream 1973a, 63 no. M17 pl. 26.



Fig. 6: Archaic and Classical terracotta figurines from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knossos, showing a figurine of possible mid-6th-century date at top left

1990s I sifted through at least 5,000 sherds from various deposits conventionally dated to the Late Orientalizing period and roughly an equal number of sherds from later deposits with reportedly earlier residual material. The search was fruitless, but it gives some idea of the vastly disproportionate number of 7th-century material relative to anything potentially dating to the 6th century.

Furthermore, every other class of material that can be dated points to the same conclusion. For example, stylistic dating yielded a single figurine of this date out of 1,000 catalogued specimens from the Demeter sanctuary (Fig. 6)³⁵. One out of a thousand is the best documentation we get for Knossos in the lean period of the 6th century. And even this figurine could plausibly have been stamped at the end of the 6th century or even later from an older mold obtained elsewhere. The best

³⁵ Coldstream 1973b, 59 no. 11 pl. 33.

stylistic parallels for it are from Sicily, raising the possibility that someone from Knossos produced a new mold by making an impression directly from an imported Sicilian figurine. Excavations at Azoria have recently drawn into question the conventional dating of figurines through new evidence from independently dated consumption contexts that suggests the recycling of molds for a century or more³⁶. Late Archaic worshippers may have continued a demand for “Daedalic” figurines produced from older molds. Periodization advocates should be troubled by this, since they so often assign precise stylistic dates to sporadic figurines from poorly defined contexts.

Other more precisely datable objects include ten possible Archaic inscriptions from Knossos, four of which are on stone and were found reused as building material. The traditional dating of these inscriptions based on letter forms would place them either before the gap in the late 7th or early 6th century or after it in the late 6th or early 5th century³⁷. Of the six other “Archaic” graffiti from Knossos, two are stamped amphora handles, one of which the excavator dated to the second half of the 6th century and the other to the Classical not the Archaic period³⁸, and four other graffiti on pots of undiagnostic forms, probably Archaic as broadly defined³⁹. Nothing here requires a date in the lean period, but perhaps more refined stylistic dating of letter forms will one day alter the current picture. With inscribed pottery, we should also be aware that Hellenistic Cretans often recycled larger vessels, particularly pithoi, of Archaic date for use in their houses in what Whitley describes as a social strategy of claiming deep family roots often in difficult circumstances, such as population relocations⁴⁰. He further points to the fact that many of these Archaic pithoi bear ownership inscriptions. Why this matters to us is that an inscribed Archaic pot found out of context at Knossos might be taken not as evidence of 6th-century activity at the site but of a later population bringing cherished heirlooms with them after a disruption.

Another exceptional piece with a possible 6th-century date, an Archaic limestone head discovered in a Roman robbing trench in the area of the Little Palace North in 2002, should be dated based on style squarely in the middle of the 6th-century archaeological desert (Fig. 7)⁴¹. It constitutes the most compelling argument yet against the abandonment theory. But how compelling is this singular object? The main problem is that it comes out of context from a Roman trench and could represent Roman attitudes to the past and the display of ancient Greek objects. If this head could be shown to be a Knossian product, it might indirectly

³⁶ Haggis et al. 2011a, 30–35.

³⁷ IC I viii 1–3; Jeffery 1949, 35–37 fig. 15.

³⁸ Sackett 1992, 141–142 nos. X32. X33 pl. 121.

³⁹ SEG 27, 629; 46, 1228; 31, 812; 26, 1047.

⁴⁰ Whitley 2011, 31.

⁴¹ Whitley 2002/2003, 81 fig. 134.



Fig. 7: Archaic limestone head from a Roman robbing trench in the area of the Little Palace North, Knossos

shed light on local craftwork of unexpected sophistication in the middle of the 6th century. But the initial report presents a highly questionable picture of origin, suggesting that the material is a local limestone but that the finished object has strong eastern Greek stylistic traits compatible with a Samian artist. This is a fascinating puzzle. Based on what we know now, this head probably stands a better chance of being a Roman Archaizing product or a spolium from outside Crete than a genuine Knossian work of the 6th century. Such slim and problematic evidence is at any rate not enough to postulate the existence of a local community in the 6th century. For positive evidence discounting the abandonment hypothesis, we would need something more substantial than a single object and preferably a number of objects from a sound context deposited at or near the time of the supposed gap.

Even those unwilling to accept an abandonment of Knossos have been troubled by this apparent absence of evidence. One way around it is to suggest that spotty excavations at Knossos are roughly equivalent to a surface survey, with acute problems of archaeological visibility. It could be something as simple as Knossos undergoing a phase of spatial remodeling in the 6th century and the urban nucleus lying outside the main zone of excavations. There is some validity to this point. Excavations have had a rather limited spatial extent confined to a rough circle indicated in dark grey around and to the west of the Minoan Palace (Fig. 8). Some think that the Archaic urban core was situated elsewhere, in the lighter ellipse to the north⁴². Perhaps so, but the evidence for such a shift in location is

⁴² Hood – Smyth 1981, 18; Coldstream – Huxley 1999, 298.

extremely slim. It requires us to make much of the location of the Roman basilica to the north and assume that it marks the Roman urban core, positing essential continuity from the Archaic to Roman period. But this all misses an important point. The darker and lighter fields partly overlap, and yet no material dating within the gap has come to light in the overlapping section. If Knossos moved to a far more distant location off the map, I would be less concerned with the absence of evidence, but this seems unlikely. The suburban character of 7th- and 5th-century material around the Minoan palace should mean that the Archaic civic center is not too far away.

What little new evidence that has come to light since the late 1990s has failed to support the notion of an Archaic civic center to the north. The most promising excavations in this respect have been those of Eleni Hatzaki at the Little Palace North. The dig's pottery specialist, Peter Callaghan, informs me that Classical levels cut directly into 7th-century stratigraphy, removing anything that might have been in between and leaving no more than six or so Archaic stray pot sherds, none of which he is willing to date in the lean period⁴³. Of the other recent projects that have gathered potentially relevant evidence, special mention should be made of the Knossos Urban Landscape Project (2005–2008), notable both for the sheer quantity of ceramic evidence it has accumulated (335,000 sherds from all periods) and the particular relevance of survey data to the physical development of the urban landscape⁴⁴. Indeed, this may be the most promising recent development for an archaeological understanding of Archaic Knossos. I suspect that *longue durée* historians would place greater confidence in negative evidence stemming from a methodical survey program and collection strategy than a reported gap from limited excavations with an obvious Minoan focus, where unintentional biases might have led to an underrepresentation of the Archaic town. The survey archaeologists, who have only begun to sort and classify this material, have not yet identified anything from the lean part of the 6th century. Greater clarification of the 6th-century transition at Knossos has encouraged me to undertake a study of the Archaic (defined as 6th and early 5th century), Classical, and Hellenistic material from this survey, a project that will begin in summer 2012.

Skepticism over the abandonment hypothesis runs even deeper than this apparent absence of evidence currently seen in the archaeological record. Proposing abandonment is an ideological act that generates heated responses and charges of positivism. Classical archaeologists have been accused, and with some justification, of uncritically accepting literary accounts of urban destruction as valid evidence for abandonment. Complete and utter devastation of cities is a literary trope, and archaeologists who attempt to prove such claims threaten to reduce the discipline to a subordinate role as a handmaiden to history, allowing the literary sour-

⁴³ Callaghan, personal communication.

⁴⁴ Whitelaw et al. 2006/2007, 28–31.

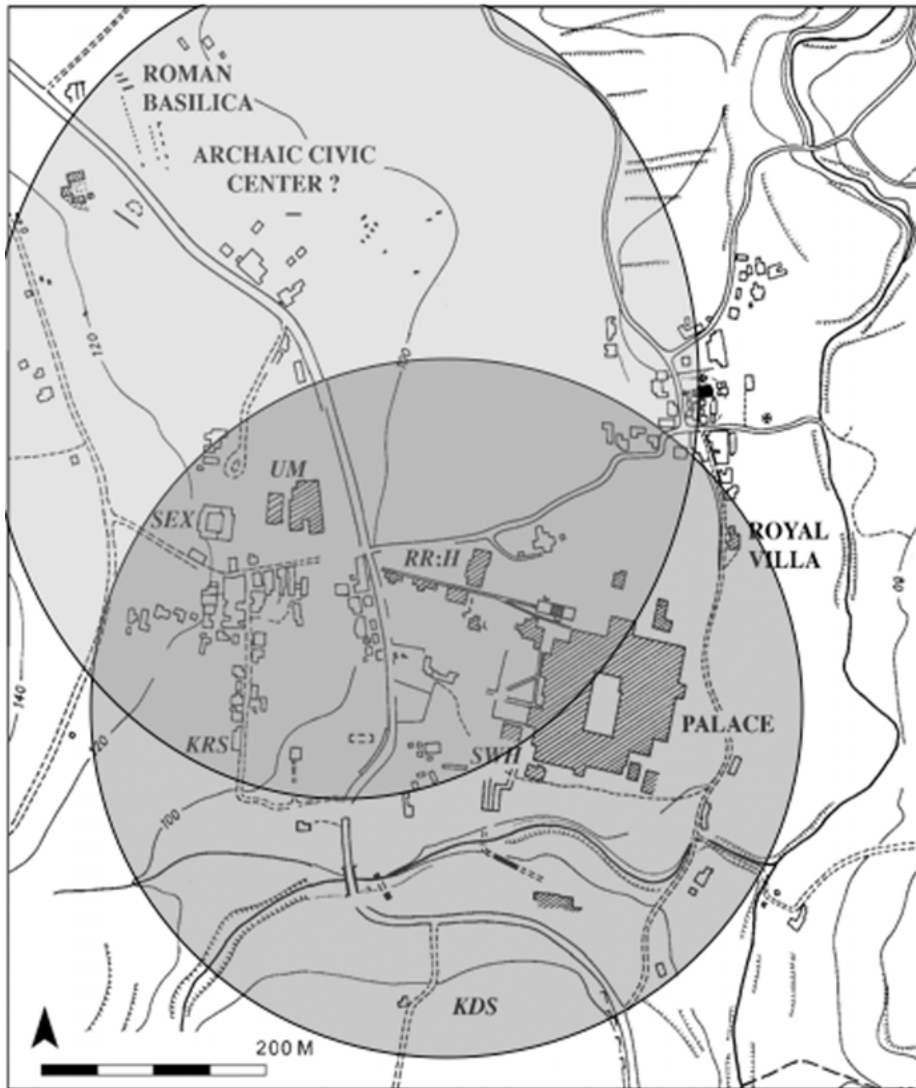


Fig. 8: Map of Knossos area, showing main zone of excavations in dark grey circle and possible location of Archaic civic center in light grey ellipse

ces to generate the questions⁴⁵. Olynthos has been an important test case for abandonment proponents. The literary sources almost certainly exaggerate the extent of destruction, for the site shows material traces of reoccupation, although they

⁴⁵ Mackil 2004, 505–512.

are concentrated in one part of the town⁴⁶. On Crete, literary and epigraphic sources provide high-profile cases of abandoned cities: Lyktos in 221/220 and Praisos in the 140s. Cretan archaeologists have been properly cautious in drawing conclusions from apparent occupational breaks. The Praisos survey team sounded almost apologetic in reporting an absence of evidence from Praisos and its territory in the Hellenistic through Roman periods, a break that seemed to confirm the literary tradition⁴⁷. The team's tone is revealing, for survey is largely the business of *longue durée* history, but a destruction of Praisos abruptly moves us into a more traditional historical timeline, with momentous events, political decisions and leaders, wars, victors and victims, and other specific actors calling the shots.

Whereas a past generation of scholars would have required literary documentation to accept an archaeologist's claim of abandonment, now the pendulum has swung so far that a literary account of abandonment is almost a liability. Rhetorically, it does not strengthen the case for an abandonment of Knossos to quote a literary source saying that this is what happened. Such testimony does exist: according to Ephoros, as reported by Strabo (10, 481), sometime after the law giver Thaletas, a quasi mythical figure conventionally dated in the 7th century, Knossos suffered a destruction but had revived by Ephoros's time, presumably in the 4th century. The increasing realization that the literary tradition pertaining to Archaic and Classical Crete is highly problematic means that we are probably better off ignoring this reference and pursuing more refined archaeological means of detecting abandonment⁴⁸. Azoria is providing one of the clearest such cases. A thick layer of ashy soil covers most if not all of the site. Moreover, Azoria has contexts suggestive of abandonment, such as rooms with the most valuable material removed but much else left in situ. And the apparent destruction is followed by a long break after 480. A few other Archaic Cretan sites show fainter signs of abandonment, but similar indications nonetheless. At Prinias, the excavators mention destruction debris dating to the early 6th century, but since this deposit has not been fully published, we do not know if it is from a localized destruction of a single room or building or covers more of the site⁴⁹.

Prinias is instructive about modern attitudes in a different way. The *longue durée* narrative has prepared us to accept an abandonment of Prinias and Azoria but not of Knossos. The term proto-polis is often applied to Early Iron Age sites like Prinias that do not seem to make it into the Classical and Hellenistic periods. They are depicted as casualties in a long process of experimentation, with winners and the inevitable losers. The successful outcomes lead to the stable poleis known from later sources. The selective abandonment of Archaic sites – what might other-

⁴⁶ Cahill 2002, 45–61.

⁴⁷ Whitley et al. 1999, 256. See also Whitley 2011, 41–43.

⁴⁸ Perlman 1992; 2005.

⁴⁹ Rizza 1985, 148.

wise be interpreted as evidence for punctuated histories and specific inter-polis conflicts and rivalries – has been appropriated by *longue durée* historians on Crete into a generic evolutionary framework lacking specific actors. Knossos, the ultimate winner, could not have been abandoned, or so the thinking goes⁵⁰. This subtly perpetuates Knossos as a type site, based largely on its importance in the Bronze Age, for virtually nothing is known about its political and military standing in the Archaic and Classical periods.

In the end, what conclusions can be drawn about the state of Cretan archaeology and current thinking about the Archaic gap? Knossos has been the focus of my paper not because I think it is typical. Even if it was abandoned in the 6th century or reduced to a level of existence with an almost imperceptible archaeological footprint, I would not want to generalize and explain apparent breaks elsewhere as caused by a wave of destruction. So why choose Knossos? Because it brings the Archaic gap into sharp relief and elicits different ideas about history and the role of archaeology, approaches I have defined perhaps too rigidly in a bipolar scheme of periodization and *longue durée*. I do not wish to see one approach triumph over the other. Much insight has been gained by examining developments over the long haul. Earlier histories help explain Cretan reactions to later events. On the other side, rigid periodization can create a kind of tunnel vision, just as extreme *longue durée* history can seem overly deterministic. A synthesis is clearly needed, and many Cretan archaeologists, more than my paper might suggest, are comfortable wearing both hats. An example is Donald Haggis's effort to frame the changes at Azoria both against the backdrop of a longer settlement history and what he terms a "phase transition", a profound structural change at the end of the 7th century with specific and relatively sudden manifestations⁵¹. I end with a plea to mind the gap at those other sites where the initial work of periodization specialists has not yet resolved the chronological mystery or provided adequate explanations. If we take seriously apparent breaks in the sequence of these sites, it will continue to spur refinements in local artifact chronologies and bring attention to unusual patterns. We will then be in a better position to assess claims of Cretan exceptionalism, and these efforts will ultimately lead to a deeper understanding of Cretan political and social developments.

⁵⁰ Wallace 2010a, 328. For proto-poleis, see Haggis, this volume.

⁵¹ Haggis, this volume.

Illustration Credit

- Fig. 1: after Sjögren 2003, 23 diagram 1
 Fig. 2, 3: M. Wisniewski
 Fig. 4: after B. J. Hayden – M. Tsipopoulou, The Priniatikos Pyrgos Project: Preliminary Report on the Rescue Excavation of 2005–2006, *Hesperia* 81, 2012, 508 fig. 1
 Fig. 5: after Erickson 2010a, 215 fig. 8.13
 Fig. 6: after Coldstream 1973b, 59 no. 11 pl. 33
 Fig. 7: after Whitley 2002/2003, 82 fig. 134
 Fig. 8: after Hood – Smyth 1981, foldout map

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Adam Rabinowitz

Drinkers, Hosts, or Fighters? Masculine Identities in Pre-Classical Crete

Crete plays a contradictory role in scholarship on the development of Greek society. On the one hand, the communities of the island are held up as exemplars both of the intense engagement with Near Eastern culture that characterized the Orientalizing period in Greece and, through their early inscribed laws, of the common concerns and preoccupations that shaped the early Greek *polis*. These Cretan communities have also famously been presented by R. Willetts as archetypes of early Greek “aristocratic” society¹. On the other hand, Cretan cities are presented as outliers in discussions of the Greek world of the Archaic and Classical periods: their customs were viewed as curious and idiosyncratic by mainland observers at least from the 5th century BCE forward, and the impression of Cretan “austerity” produced by the relative dearth of art and luxury objects after 600 BCE has led modern scholars to treat the island as an anomalous exception to the Archaic Greek aristocratic *koiné*. For many of these scholars, the explanation for this apparent paradox has lain in the way the members of early Cretan communities negotiated status and identity. Specifically, they have distinguished a traditional Cretan “Homeric” aristocracy, in which status was based on birth and martial prowess, from an emerging Archaic aristocracy of competitive consumption. Since both ideal types have been associated with distinct commensal practices since antiquity, the *andreion*, the communal mess that defined male citizenship in later Crete, is a topic of particular interest in this discussion.

In their attempts to bridge the gap between the wealth of evidence for pre-Archaic Cretan culture and the low visibility of the Archaic and Classical remains, scholars have centered their arguments on continuity in eating and drinking habits. In the institution of the *andreion* they have seen a deep-seated cultural preference for collective “public” rituals over competitive “private” claims to status. “Proto-*andreia*” have been identified in the Early Iron Age and even the Late Bronze Age by scholars seeking to establish a continuous emphasis in Cretan society on communal, egalitarian eating and drinking from the Minoan to the Classical period². This preference has naturally been set in opposition to the elitist, individualistic world of the Archaic symposium, which helps in turn to explain the absence of the chief archaeological markers of sympotic practice found elsewhere in the Greek world – specifically figural pottery – after about 600 BCE. More directly,

Dr. Adam Rabinowitz, Department of Classics, University of Texas at Austin, WAG 123, Mailcode C3400, Austin, TX 78712-0308, U.S.A., arabinow@mail.utexas.edu

1 Willetts 1955.

2 Koehl 1997; Borgna 2004a, 186–189; Wallace 2010, *passim*.

James Whitley has argued that the krater, the large, elaborately decorated bowl in which wine and water were mixed and the sympotic vessel *par excellence*, is rare in Archaic and Classical Cretan assemblages, reinforcing the impression that the symposium itself was alien to Crete³. Later textual sources underline the major differences between wine-drinking practices on Crete and those in the rest of Greece: a fragment of Pyrgion preserved in Athenaios states unequivocally that Cretan diners did not recline⁴, while the well-known description of the “syssitia” at Lyttos offered by Dosiadas seems to describe adult drinking without kraters⁵. These sources are reinforced by epigraphic evidence for the *andreion* from at least the 6th century⁶.

Thus Cretan drinking is both “Homeric” and analogous to Spartan practice: it was only incidental to a social organization focused on dining, and when it took place, it was in public settings, in moderation, and according to civic rules⁷. The symposium, on the other hand, is usually defined in scholarship on Crete by the characteristics that are traditionally associated with it in discussions of Archaic Greece: it takes place in private space and is therefore outside the political framework of the developing polis⁸, and it is a locus of the individualistic display of high culture, in its luxurious and exotic accoutrements and in the stage it provides its participants for performance. The definition of the Archaic symposium as a private occasion for agonistic self-fashioning sets it in clearer contrast with evidence for Cretan practice. The juxtaposition reinforces the image of Cretan society, like its Spartan counterpart, as communitarian, absorbing into the public sphere and forcing uniformity upon aspects of social practice that elsewhere remain “private” and conducive to conspicuous consumption⁹. Thus the “Archaic gap” in the Cretan ceramic record can be understood as the result of the rejection of individualistic, agonistic innovations in drinking in the Archaic period by a conservative aristocracy with a long tradition of collective commensality.

Since scholars seem to assume that Greek communal drinking is only constructive of social relationships within the symposium, drinking has played little role in discussions of social interactions in Archaic Crete¹⁰. But this is to ignore the importance of drinking practices in the structuring of Cretan society before the

³ Whitley 2009, 285 f.; but see the recent review of the issues in Erickson 2010a, 313–320.

⁴ Pyrgion FGrH 467 fr. (= Ath. 4, 143 e): Πυργίων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ Κρητικῶν Νομίμων “Ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις (φησὶν) οἱ Κρήτες καθήμενοι εὐσιτοῦσι.”

⁵ Dosiadas FGrH 458 fr. 2 (= Ath. 4, 143 a–d).

⁶ See Perlman, this volume for a review of the inscriptions mentioning *andreia*.

⁷ See, for example, Brisart 2011.

⁸ Wallace 2010, 385.

⁹ Brisart 2011.

¹⁰ Although new archaeological evidence is beginning to change this: see Haggis et al. 2007; Erickson 2010b; Erickson 2010a; and Haggis et al. 2011. For a historical account of the relation between communal drinking, social structure, and institutions, see Seelentag, forthcoming.

6th century BCE. By that time, wine consumption had been connected with political power on the island for more than a thousand years. Increasingly elaborate alcoholic beverages accompanied the rise of the Minoan palaces in the early second millennium, and some scholars have argued that these beverages, and the rituals of their consumption, contributed to the creation of hierarchy in those emerging states¹¹. This pattern continued into the Late Bronze Age, when Minoans were enthusiastic adopters of mainland drinking vessels and practices that were tied to both ethnic identity and social power¹². Communal and personal drinking vessels also played a significant role in elite residential and funerary assemblages through the Early Iron Age and into the Orientalizing period. Funerary evidence from the Protogeometric and Geometric periods in particular suggests a deep connection between drinking, warfare, and elite masculinity, while the early introduction of bronze bowls of Near Eastern origin or style, together with North Syrian ivories that may have decorated elaborate furniture, led Jane Carter to seek the origins of the Greek symposium in the exposure of Greeks on Crete to the Levantine ritual drinking-group known as the *marzeah*¹³. Furthermore, despite textual evidence for the absence of the formal attributes of the symposium on Crete, many items associated with “symposiastic” drinking, including kraters, continue to appear in settlements, sanctuaries, and necropoleis through the 6th century and into the Classical period¹⁴.

I contend, therefore, that the framing of Archaic Cretan commensal culture in terms of mutually exclusive binary pairs – eating or drinking, *andreion* or symposium, collectivism or individualism – is a misleading oversimplification. I will argue instead of that close contextual examination of evidence for Cretan communal drinking practices in the periods leading up to the 6th century BCE reveals diachronic changes that reflect a dynamic tension between different approaches to the expression of masculine identity. From this perspective, the apparent absence of the symposium *stricto sensu* in 6th- and 5th-century Crete is best understood not as an anomaly, but as part of an ongoing dialogue about drinking and male self-representation that was taking place throughout the Greek world at the same time. At the heart of this dialogue lies the distinction between the expression of status in terms of patronage and its expression in terms of participation. The host or sponsor of a drinking party, by providing the wine, vessels, and venue, asserts status by imposing on his guests an obligation that persists until they are able to reciprocate equally or more lavishly. If they cannot, a host’s repeated sponsorship becomes a permanent claim to dominance. In the absence of an obvious sponsor, on the other hand, or in an environment in which all are equally able to act as host,

¹¹ E.g. Girella 2008, 173.

¹² Borgna 2003, 355; Borgna 2004a, 176–180.

¹³ Carter 1997.

¹⁴ For drinking ceramics after ca. 600 BCE, see Erickson 2010a and Erickson 2010b.

participants in drinking parties can claim equal status simply by their right to attend and their knowledge of proper behavior.

I will argue that it is the tension between these two modes of self-representation that characterizes drinking practices on early Crete. This tension can be seen in the manipulation of symbols of elite, and specifically elite male, status across time. On one side are symbols that imply the patronage of communal drinking, in particular the krater; on the other are symbols like weapons and special cups that reflect the claim to participation in elite male activities like warfare and drinking parties. Changes in the contexts in which these symbols appear can be connected with changes in the size, complexity, and social organization of Cretan communities over time. Strong vertical hierarchies in small communities may be reflected in the mobilization of symbols of patronage by elite individuals, while an emphasis on symbols of participation could serve to reduce the possibility of intra-elite conflict in larger, more complex communities in which power and status were more contentious. These patterns are especially visible when one compares large settlements during periods of high social complexity (LMIIIA–B, the Geometric to Early Archaic periods) with smaller settlements during periods of simpler social organization (LMIIC, the Protogeometric period).

Patronage and participation are not mutually exclusive, but they do reflect different attitudes toward other members of one's community: are they one's equals, or one's potential inferiors? To put this in the language of the Greeks themselves, does a man claim status as an *agathos*, just as good as any other man, or as an *aristos*, better than those around him? This raises the issue of terminology, and here some caution is warranted. I would like to distinguish claims to status as an *aristos* from the traditional use of the term "aristocratic" to describe both early Cretan society and the world of the Archaic symposium. The problems with the unreflective use of the notion of the early Greek "aristocracy" have lately been underscored by Alain Duplouy¹⁵. Whitley, building on Ian Morris' identification of "middling" and "elitist" ideologies in Archaic Greek society, tries to resolve this problem by distinguishing an "aristocracy of wealth and birth" on Crete from an "aristocracy of performance" in other Greek cities¹⁶. Thomas Brisart abandons the term "aristocracy" altogether to argue that Cretan "elites" defined themselves through "modes de reconnaissance sociales" based on communal values and situated in communal space, rather than competitive displays of individual wealth or prestige in venues like the symposium¹⁷. But to insist on a sharp distinction between aristocracies of birth and performance, or between cooperative and competitive modes of social display, is to ignore evidence for shifting strategies of self-

¹⁵ See Duplouy 2005; 2006; 2007 for a critique of the application of the term "aristocracy" to Archaic Greek elites, especially when it is used to imply "a nobility of birth."

¹⁶ Morris 1996; Whitley 2004, 438–441; 2009, 291.

¹⁷ Brisart 2011, following Duplouy.

representation within a single community or society. I hold that both before and after the Archaic period, certain members of Cretan communities could choose to present themselves as either *aristoi* or *agathoi*, and I will follow Duplouy and Brisart in referring to the people who had these options as “elites” rather than “aristocrats.” This status does not depend exclusively on birth or wealth, and it is demonstrated by the exercise of power *to* as much as, if not more than, power *over*. A member of the elite, by this definition, does not obtain this position solely by the exertion of dominance over some other group, as definitions of “aristocrats” tend to assume, nor by the expectation that his or her opinion will usually prevail (“authority”, in the Weberian sense). Instead, elite status depends on the right to participate fully in the full range of institutions that structure the life of a community, from magistracies to religious rituals to communal eating or drinking, and on the claim to independence and respect in personal interactions. Most importantly, it is never really innate: it can be bestowed or taken away by one’s community, and particularly by one’s peers, and therefore it must be routinely reaffirmed, even when it is technically acquired by birth or legal status.

Within this elite, therefore, the reaffirmation of status can involve strategies based both on patronage and on participation. A claim to status based on commensal patronage implies power *over*, since it entails at least the temporary dominance of host over guest, even within a group of nominal peers. I will term this mode of elite self-representation “positional”, inasmuch as it expresses status specifically in terms of relationships of inferiority and superiority. The “participatory” mode of self-representation, by contrast, emphasizes power *to*, and involves criteria based on personal achievement or qualities, without direct implications for the status of one’s peers: being a warrior, for example, does not force other potential warriors into the role of non-warrior, any more than the accumulation of exotic goods inherently restricts the access of others to those goods or birth into a prosperous family necessarily reduces others’ chances for prosperity. Participatory and positional modes of elite self-representation exist in tension with each other, since one individual’s power *over* implies the diminishment of another individual’s power *to*. Status expressed in terms of participation leaves room for egalitarian relationships; positional status can be generated only through inequality.

With this we return to the drinking-party and to the krater, its central distribution vessel. The krater (and its functional equivalent, the *dinos*) is a particularly useful heuristic tool in the examination of long-term patterns in Cretan drinking. This may seem like a contradictory choice, since the alleged scarcity of the krater in the assemblages of the Archaic and Classical periods and its marginal role in Dosiadas’ description of Cretan drinking have been central pillars of the argument that Crete never developed a “sympotic” culture. But the form plays a major role in ceramic assemblages on the island between the Late Bronze Age and the Orientalizing period, and it has been a key piece of evidence in arguments for social change at the end of the Bronze Age. Furthermore, its appearance in pre-Classical

funerary contexts seems to be correlated with that of weapons, a major marker of masculine identity; the correlations are sometimes negative and sometimes positive, but generally consistent for specific periods and sites. Most importantly, the krater's physical centrality in communal drinking practices, as a large and highly visible vessel used for the preparation and distribution of a shared alcoholic beverage, makes it a particularly good medium for social messages concerning both participation and patronage. I will thus focus my examination of Cretan drinking practices on metal or ceramic examples of this form, paying special attention to funerary contexts, where issues of identity and self-representation are arguably more important and more archaeologically visible than they are in the remains of settlements and sanctuaries.

The archaeological remains suggest that the krater, first introduced to Crete from the mainland in the LMIIIA period, played a central role in the transformation of both drinking practices and social structure on Crete in the Late Bronze Age. In both its amphoroid and bell-shaped forms, it marked the adoption of new drinking practices focused on mixing and distribution of a beverage from a large, central vessel. Both the practices and the vessels spread from the palace at Knossos to other centers of regional importance. Soon after their appearance in settlements, kraters began to be deployed in high-status tombs – but never in the highest-status “warrior” tombs at palatial centers like Knossos and Phaistos, despite the striking collections of bronze banqueting equipment recovered from these burials¹⁸. There are too few examples to confirm a consistent pattern, but the available tombs suggest two separate funerary vocabularies: one focused on weapons and banqueting equipment, the other on kraters and drinking sets. These distinctions do not seem to reflect regional burial preferences, since both appear in the same regions, at least in Northern and Central Crete. Nor is it possible to interpret the separation between graves with weapons and graves with kraters as an indication of class or status differences within a single community, since only one grave type tends to appear at a given settlement. There does, however, seem to be a correlation between settlement size or importance and the presence of tombs with kraters: such tombs appear to be associated primarily with smaller, non-palatial settlements (Fig. 1).

I would like to propose a social explanation for these patterns, drawing on the work of Michael Dietler. On the basis of ethnographic observation and its application to archaeological contexts, Dietler has developed a schema that classifies commensal practices according to the ways in which they generate power among participants, dividing them roughly into entrepreneurial, patron-role, and diacritical

¹⁸ Kraters appear, for example, in high-status LMIIIA tombs at Mochlos, including one identified as the grave of a Mycenaean *telestas*: Soles 1999, 790. For “warrior tombs”: Evans 1905 (Knossos); Savignoni 1904 (Phaistos).

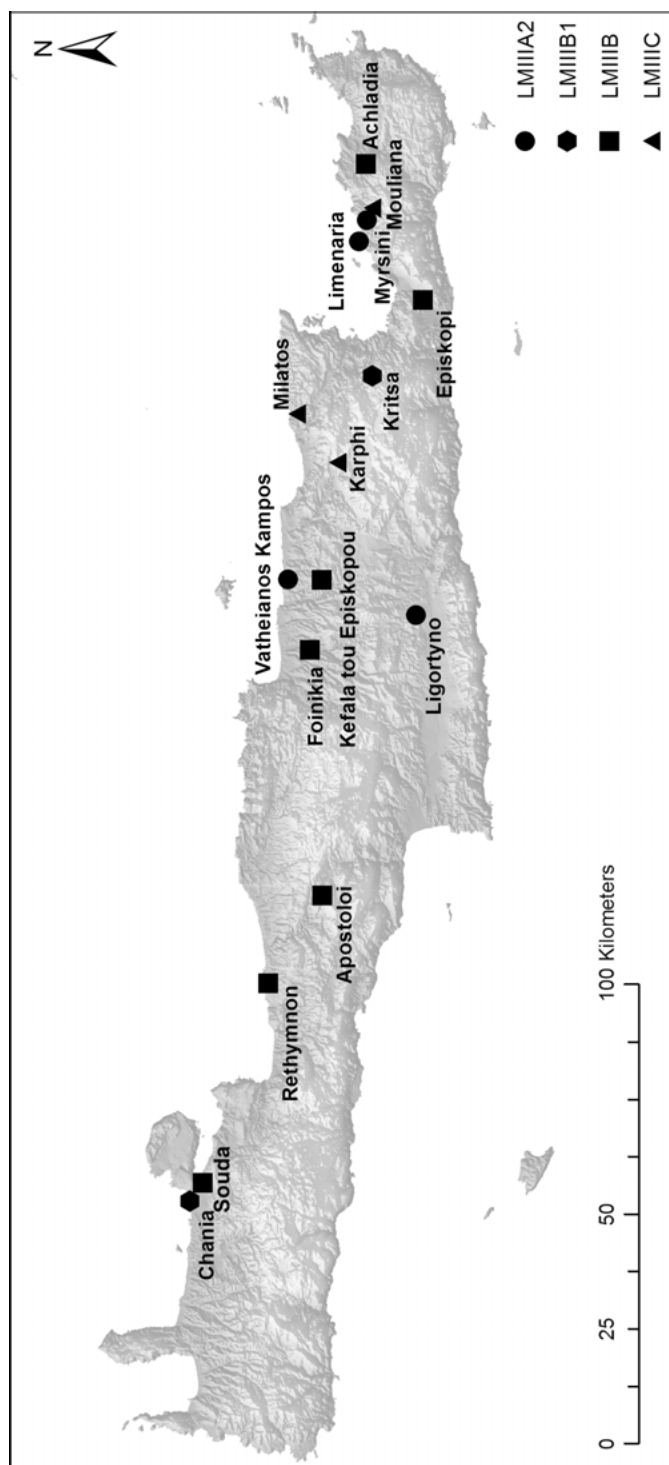


Fig. 1: Map of burials involving kraters, by period, LMIIIA–LMIIIC

categories¹⁹. “Entrepreneurial” feasts take place within relatively egalitarian communities, and involve the competitive sponsorship of commensal activities as a means to increase the social or economic capital of an individual or family. “Patron-role” feasts, by contrast, are a feature of ranked or hierarchical communities, and emphasize the sponsorship of commensal activities by a small number of elites. By acting as the exclusive hosts of such activities, those elites create obligations among their guests to reciprocate with loyalty and support. “Diacritical” feasts are characteristic of large, complex, stratified societies, in which special feasting equipment or rituals are used to distinguish high-status groups from the rest of the community, while reinforcing in-group identity. Dietler’s ideas have already been applied to the analysis of Minoan and Mycenaean feasting and drinking assemblages, particularly by Elisabetta Borgna and James Wright²⁰. Both authors use this framework to emphasize the use of new drinking practices and equipment in the creation of social difference and hierarchy in the Late Bronze Age. Their interpretations focus on the adoption of new styles as diacritical markers, but it is worth noting that while cups can only act as an index of participation, the krater itself, when associated with a particular individual or group, can imply control of distribution and thus the patronage of communal drinking.

With Wright, I suggest that the LMIIIA “warrior tombs” at major centers take a diacritical approach to the assertion of status, with an emphasis on the control of ritual (especially sacrifice), while tombs with kraters at smaller settlements reflect patron-role commensal strategies. The warrior tombs make participatory assertions of status through the association of a particular man with warfare and religious knowledge. The association of individual burials with kraters, on the other hand, can mark the deceased’s positional claims to the role of host and the control of wine-distribution, reminding former guests of their reciprocal obligations to both the deceased and his family. In larger, more densely populated and more politically central settlements, where elites would have been present in greater numbers, competitive positional claims involving the *sponsorship* of high-status drinking rituals might have intensified social tensions, while emphasis on elite personal qualities like martial prowess or ritual competency may have been a less fraught way to assert status. In smaller communities, on the other hand, where clearer hierarchies and more face-to-face interaction would have been the rule, it would have been less problematic for leading families to assert status by emphasizing their patronage of communal drinking.

¹⁹ See especially Dietler 1996; 2001. Dietler’s typology of commensal practices can be reductive, and its application to Archaic Greek or Archaic Cretan dining is not novel (in-depth discussions can be found in Rabinowitz 2009 and Seelentag, forthcoming, ch. 11). The framework is, however, useful for its emphasis on the relationships between drinkers, rather than the formal attributes of drinking practices.

²⁰ Borgna 2004b; Wright 2004.

I have begun with the Late Bronze Age because both the drinking practices established then and the social interpretation I propose may illuminate later periods. The use of kraters in communal drinking in the smaller settlements established during the political breakdown of the LMIIIC period is a good example. Where our evidence is clearest, kraters continue to appear with other drinking vessels in contexts suggestive of claims to social status in both settlements and cemeteries. At some LMIIIC sites, however, they seem to be available to a broader segment of the population than in LMIIIA–B. At Phaistos, for example, Borgna interprets the high frequency and variety of decorated kraters in this period as a sign of widespread competition for status through feasting and drinking rituals within a fairly open and egalitarian society (Dietler’s “entrepreneurial” feasting)²¹. On the other hand, the presence of kraters in some rich graves, especially in East Crete, suggests an ongoing assertion of positional status in terms of the patronage of communal drinking²². If the absence of weapons in most of these tombs with kraters is not simply the result of looting, it suggests that fighting and drinking continued to belong to different symbolic languages in this period. If so, the language of martial identity was the more popular in LMIIIC: tombs with kraters are exceptional in this period, while weapons are a standard feature of well-equipped burials. Perhaps in small egalitarian communities, as in large stratified ones, the representation of the male deceased as a warrior, as a participatory claim to masculine status, created less tension than aggressive positional assertions focused on the sponsorship of communal drinking – although as community size increased, as at Phaistos, competitive hosting strategies tended to resurface.

These two identities (host and warrior) and their material correlates (krater and weapons) provide the basic symbolic vocabulary for elite male self-representation over the following four centuries. At the beginning of the Early Iron Age, they seem to merge into a single expression of elite masculinity. This is best seen in a chamber tomb at Moulana that contained, among earlier “warrior”-type inhumations, an LMIIIC Late burial consisting of a bell krater filled with cremated remains²³. The krater was decorated with figural scenes depicting a horseman and a hunter with wild goats; near it were a globular flask of Cypriote type and some corroded iron objects that the excavator interpreted as fragments of a sword and a knife²⁴. This burial brings together several symbolic attributes – communal drinking, warfare, contact with the east – that would become central to funerary display in the rich tombs of the Protogeometric period. The rite of cremation was an innovation in this period, and it is significant that a new treatment of the corpse was closely

²¹ Borgna 2004b, 135.

²² E.g. at Karphi: Pendlebury et al. 1937, 102–105; Milatos: Evans 1905, 483–493; Veni: Τέγου 2001.

²³ Εανθουδίδης 1904, 27–31.

²⁴ Εανθουδίδης 1904, 38.

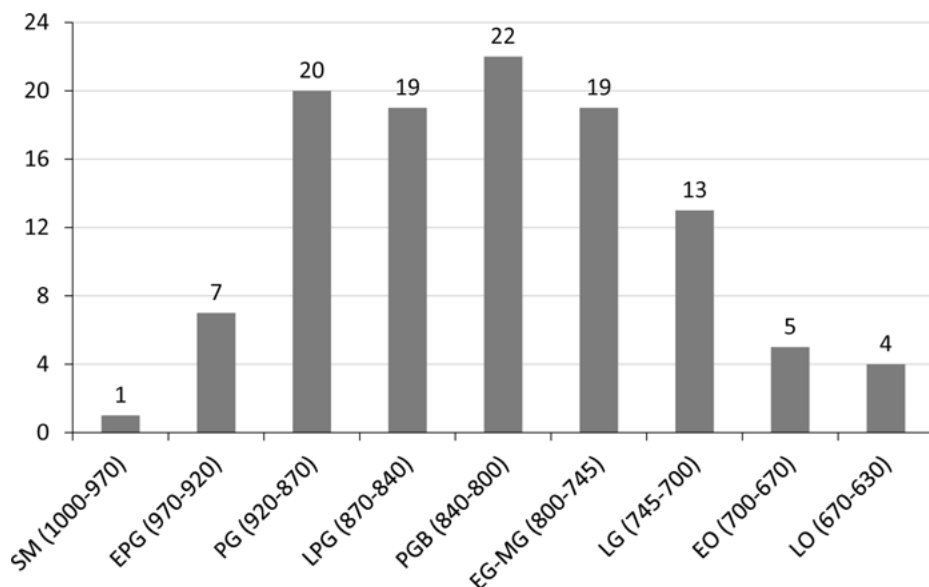


Fig. 2: Graph of the number of kraters in tombs from all of the cemeteries at Knossos excavated and published by the British School at Athens, by period

associated with a new funerary vocabulary fusing references to drinking with weapons and exotic objects.

Moving into the Protogeometric period, funerary evidence across central and Eastern Crete reveals a distinct association between kraters, iron weapons, and rich chamber tombs containing multiple cremation burials²⁵. The most extensive evidence comes from the Early Iron Age Knossian necropoleis. Although the graves in the Fortetsa necropolis and North Cemetery were used for multiple depositions over long periods of time, and although many of them have been looted or disturbed, they still offer the best opportunity for the quantitative examination of trends in burial practices²⁶. Overall, the Protogeometric period at Knossos sees a rise in the presence of kraters (Fig. 2)²⁷. In the Early Protogeometric period, kraters first appear in small numbers as cinerary urns. In one case, a krater serving as an

²⁵ E.g. Vrokastro: Hall 1914, 125–139; Hayden 2003, 39; Phaistos: Rochetti 1969/1970, 61–70.

²⁶ The following discussion is based on the comprehensive publication of tombs in Brock 1957 (Fortetsa) and Coldstream – Catling 1996 (North Cemetery), as well as the publication of individual tombs: Hutchinson – Boardman 1954; Boardman 1960; Hood – Boardman 1961; Coldstream 1963; Boardman 1967; Sackett – Musgrave 1976; Callaghan et al. 1981. The numbers reflect all individual kraters published in connection with tombs, both as fragments and as whole vessels, and found both inside and outside burial chambers.

²⁷ As can be seen in the graphs in Wallace 2010, 305–309, this rise cannot be explained by a general increase in the number of tombs or the quantity of preserved ceramic material.

urn bore figural decoration depicting wild goats and ships, and contained an “iron pike”, a bronze bowl, and a faience ring²⁸. This recalls not only the iconography of the Mouliana krater, but also its use as an urn and its association with iron weapons and exotic objects. Since the symbolic messages – both functional and figural – of a vessel chosen as a cinerary urn are likely to be associated with its occupant, this krater suggests that the (presumably masculine) identity of the deceased was expressed in terms of the sponsorship of communal drinking as well as aggressive activities like warfare or hunting. The relative infrequency of such burials with kraters in the Early Protogeometric period could reflect social hierarchies in which a limited number of individuals could claim patronage roles. This corresponds rather well to Oswyn Murray’s vision of Iron Age drinking among hierarchical warrior bands, *Männerbünde*, in which the social role of a band’s leader centered on the provision of feasts, alcohol, and gifts to his retainers, and on his reciprocal connections with a wide network of other elites²⁹.

By the later 10th and early 9th century, however, this impression is undermined by a sharp rise in the number of kraters in tombs and in the number of tombs containing kraters. The funerary function of kraters also seems to change during this period: although some were still used as cremation urns, several were deposited with three to ten skyphoi, cups, or “krateriskoi” (also presumably serving as cups) in or next to them³⁰. In addition, although collective tombs with kraters almost invariably also contained arms, the kraters themselves cannot be directly associated with the weapons, and a presumed association with adult male identity is challenged by several cases in which kraters can be connected with the remains of women or children³¹. These patterns persist across the 9th century at Knossos³². Kraters are most frequent during the PGB period, at which time the phenomenon seems to extend beyond Knossos to other major centers. An informative comparison is offered by tomb A1K1, a collective chamber tomb in the Orthi Petra necropolis at Eleutherna with depositions stretching from the mid-9th to the late 7th centuries BCE³³. Kraters were infrequent among the more than 400 vessels associated with

²⁸ Fortetsa tomb VI: Brock 1957, 11 f.

²⁹ Murray 1983.

³⁰ E.g. tombs IV and V at Fortetsa (Brock 1957, 24, 26 f.) and tomb 285 in the North Cemetery, in which a Middle Protogeometric krater held not only a set of cups but also a smaller Early Protogeometric krater that itself contained fragments of cremated bone: Coldstream – Catling 1996, 242.

³¹ E.g. tomb XI at Fortetsa, where a large krater serving as a cinerary urn may have contained the remains of a woman: Brock 1957, 19; a PG krater buried with a child at Vrokastro: Hall 1914, 117 f.; Hayden 2003, 48; or the krater decorated with lions that held the bones of a young woman in Tekke tomb E: Sackett – Musgrave 1976. The last, however, was associated with a set of cups, and may have been an offering before it became an ossuary: Sackett – Musgrave 1976, 128.

³² Late Protogeometric and PGB kraters containing “drinking sets” were found in tombs IV, V, and X at Fortetsa: (Brock 1957, 24–27, 46 f.) and in close association with cups in tomb P at Fortetsa and tombs 28 and 175 in the North Cemetery: Brock 1957, 128 f.; Coldstream – Catling 1996, 78, 185.

³³ Stampolidis 2004; Agelarakis 2005; Kotsonas 2008.

this tomb, but those that were present can all be dated around the PGB period. Two of them were found with groups of cups inside them, as at Knossos³⁴.

Arguably, the separation of the krater from the individual burial, its association with women and non-adults, and the addition of cups in numbers that reflect the size of later Greek symposia mark a significant change in funerary symbolism. Where in the earlier Protogeometric period the krater as cinerary urn may be assumed to reflect a personal claim to elite male status in terms of sympotic patronage, these “drinking sets” emphasize instead the participatory aspects of communal drinking, thus reframing the practice in collective rather than individualistic terms. A comparison between tomb A1K1 at Eleutherna and tomb P in the Fortetsa necropolis at Knossos becomes even more informative in this light. Both were in use for a long time; both held a large number of depositions and an even larger quantity of grave goods; and both contained rich assemblages including exotic items and iron weapons. Yet both contained only a few kraters, even fewer of which could be associated with individual burials. If indeed there was a vocabulary of elite male identity in the Early Protogeometric period that combined warfare, access to exotica, and the sponsorship of drinking, the later Protogeometric and PGB periods saw the decoupling of funerary vocabularies focused on weapons from those focused on kraters and communal drinking sets.

At this point, however, a new intersection between exotic goods and drinking practices arises. Near Eastern motifs made their way into ceramic decoration toward the end of the Protogeometric period³⁵, and the burials of the late 9th and early 8th centuries are the richest in Near Eastern metalwork and minor objects. Perhaps the most prominent of these Orientalizing objects, at both Knossos and Eleutherna, are imported Phoenician shallow or hemispherical bronze bowls/phialai and their local imitations. Such bowls had for hundreds of years been the vessel of choice for high-status wine-drinking in the Near East, and were popular in contemporary Assyria³⁶. It seems likely that they were adopted in conjunction with the introduction of new Eastern drinking practices to Crete. At Eleutherna, the number of bronze bowls in A1K1 suggests that they were markers of individual identity, like the numerous weapons, some “killed”, that appear in the same tomb³⁷. Similar associations between bowls and weapons are present at Knossos. At Knossos, however, kraters also remain a prominent feature of funerary assemblages, and there is some indication of a correlation between kraters and bronze bowls (Fig. 3): in the North Cemetery, for example, all but one of the tombs that contained bronze bowls also contained at least one krater, although not necessarily of the same period.

³⁴ Stampolidis 2004, 259.

³⁵ Kotsonas, in his analysis of the A1K1 pottery, feels that PGB ceramics would be better described as “proto-Orientalizing”: Kotsonas 2008, 38.

³⁶ Stronach 1996.

³⁷ Stampolidis 2004, 124.

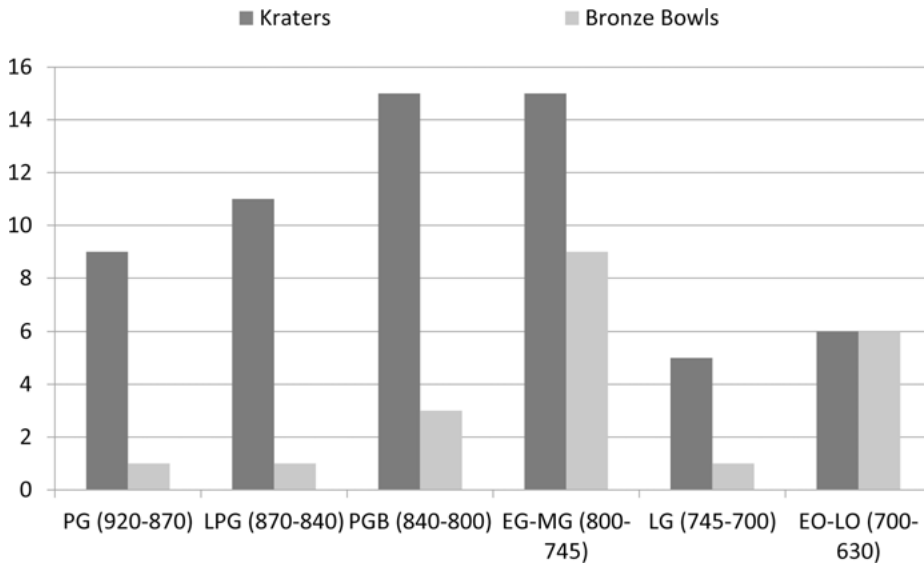


Fig. 3: Graph of the number of kraters in tombs in the North Cemetery at Knossos, plotted against the number of bronze bowls from tombs of the same cemetery, by period

The frequency of bronze bowls increases dramatically during the first half of the 8th century BCE in the North Cemetery at Knossos, at least where they can be dated or associated with dated assemblages. At the same time, connections with other parts of the Greek world appear: the bell krater disappears, and its place is taken by imported Attic, Argive, Euboean, and Cycladic Geometric pedestalled kraters and their local derivatives. In addition, a more expansive range of feasting gear, including bronze vessels, appears in several rich tombs³⁸. The Geometric periods also bring interesting developments in settlements. At Thronos/Sybrita, the burial of half a PGB krater marks the foundation of a large rectangular building interpreted as a hall for communal rituals (including feasting?)³⁹, while at Prinias, another halved PGB krater was deposited with feasting remains in the central zone where Temple A was later constructed⁴⁰. Similarly, around 800 BCE at Kommos, Temple B was constructed over Temple A, which was associated with a large number of PGB bell kraters; three pedestaled kraters of 800–750 BCE associated with Temple B suggest that it too was connected with communal drinking in its earliest

³⁸ E.g. tombs 219, 283, and 285 in the North Cemetery, all of which contained both Attic Middle Geometric kraters and feasting gear including spits and firedogs: Coldstream – Catling 1996, 210–225, 230–253.

³⁹ D'Agata 2000.

⁴⁰ Palermo et al. 2007.

phase⁴¹. There is evidence, then, for the increasing importance of communal drinking in settlements, particularly in “public” spaces, in the first half of the 8th century. If the kraters in tombs are representative, this drinking continued to involve small groups of drinkers sharing a common mixing vessel; and if the bronze bowls also reflect practice, such drinking was increasingly influenced by Near Eastern models.

These patterns suggest significant changes in the way elite identity was represented and negotiated in large, increasingly complex Cretan settlements like Knossos and Eleutherna between the 9th and 8th centuries. At the beginning of the 9th century, a few individuals might have played leading roles in communal activities including both fighting and feasting, and the kraters in those Early Protogeometric graves thus helped to define male elites as hosts and patrons of drinking as well as warriors. By the beginning of the 8th century, however, symbols of communal drinking appeared in the burials of a broader range of elites, probably including women and young people, and drinking may have come to be associated more with the burying group than with the identity of the deceased individual⁴². This is also suggested by the appearance of free-standing buildings in cemeteries that perhaps housed funerary feasting and drinking⁴³. Individual male elites, by contrast, were represented by a narrower range of symbols – specifically weapons and Near Eastern-style drinking vessels – that recall the diacritical symbolism of the Late Bronze Age “warrior burials.” Once again, both arms and cups reflected participation in, rather than control over, elite activities like warfare and drinking.

To return once more to Dietler’s schema, these changes suggest that increasing complexity and competition within these communities were negotiated in part through drinking practices – especially at Knossos, where entrepreneurial claims to positional status may have been expressed by the sponsorship of communal drinking by families, while individuals asserted participatory prestige through diacritical markers like “Oriental” bronze drinking bowls. Both positional and participatory strategies are likely to have fed social tensions, especially as diacritical objects and practices became increasingly elaborate and expensive. As communities grew larger, populations more diverse, and wealth less equitably distributed, positional claims to status may have spurred intra-elite conflict. It is precisely at

⁴¹ Shaw – Shaw 2000, 13–26; Callaghan – Johnston 2000, 238 f.

⁴² A similar point is made by Wallace: “The hint that the funeral feasting ritual took off (or became more elaborate or larger in scale) through this period supports the idea of a generally enhanced emphasis on membership of the larger social unit in death”: Wallace 2010, 300.

⁴³ The Orthi Petra necropolis at Eleutherna features a series of cremation enclosures containing ashes and feasting equipment, including a 9th-century Attic krater: Stampolidis 2004, 242 no. 267, from enclosure K. At Vrokastro, an EG krater was found in a bone enclosure with two amphorae and pieces of seven cups, while a detached rectangular building interpreted as a funerary shrine contained an Attic or Atticizing krater of MGII date: Hall 1914, 168–171; Hayden 2003, 12 f. 53. 62 f.; Cf. Wallace 2010, 301 f.

this point that the number of kraters in tombs begins to decline across all the necropoleis of Knossos. At the North Cemetery in particular, there is a precipitous reduction in the number of kraters and bronze bowls in Late Geometric tombs, presenting a stark contrast with both the funerary assemblages of the previous half-century and the contemporary settlement, where kraters are well-represented⁴⁴. The change is not due to the number of tombs used in the Late Geometric period, nor to the quantity of ceramic objects deposited in them; it seems instead to mark a real shift in the funerary use of objects related to formal communal drinking⁴⁵. The apparent attention paid to “public” drinking venues is worthy of note, as it suggests that changes in funerary practice reflected changes in drinking habits among the living.

The shift was not permanent, however, for by the early 7th century, an interest in communal drinking vessels reappeared in some tombs in the North Cemetery. But now, Orientalizing ceramic or bronze dinoi largely superseded kraters as mixing bowls, while orientalia of various forms, including bronze and faience phialai, enjoyed renewed popularity. Weapons, by contrast, were largely lacking in the two tombs that contained ceramic dinoi and Orientalizing drinking vessels⁴⁶. The gender of the individuals buried with these goods is unknown, but it seems likely that these assemblages represent the resurgence of a definition of elite masculinity based on the sponsorship of communal drinking in Eastern style. This interpretation is supported by 7th-century burials at the site of Aphrati, where both bronze and ceramic dinoi were frequently used in individual burials as cinerary urns, and where large quantities of East Greek, Orientalizing, and Near Eastern objects were included together with similar dinoi in several chamber tombs⁴⁷. The presence of weapons in cremation enclosures and/or rich chamber tombs at these two sites indicates a continued association of arms with elite male identity, but where dinoi served as cremation urns for single burials, weapons are notable by their absence.

The wine-mixing vessel, as a symbol of communal drinking, thus regains prominence in funerary assemblages at the beginning of the 7th century, now with even stronger indications of Eastern influence. And then, of course, around the end of the same century, the funerary record comes to an abrupt halt, leaving us with the infamous “Archaic gap.” This moment brings a number of substantial

⁴⁴ Kraters make up a substantial portion of deposit GE from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos: Sackett 1992, 72 f.

⁴⁵ Wallace has tabulated information about the numbers of tombs in use and the number and type of grave goods, by period, and in all cases the LG record is as rich as or richer than the PG record: Wallace 2010, 306–309 fgs. 188–194.

⁴⁶ Tombs 34 and 56: Coldstream – Catling 1996, 82–85. 94–98.

⁴⁷ Levi 1927–1929. The animal protomes on some of these kraters suggest North Syrian connections, as do other objects. Boardman takes them as evidence for the residence of Near Eastern individuals at the site (Boardman 1970), but Brisart offers a compelling re-reading in terms of the expression of citizen status: Brisart 2011, 254–263.

changes to settlement patterns and material culture across Crete, but it is worth focusing on one change in particular: this time coincides with another boom in the construction of apparently public halls in a number of important Cretan settlements. At Eleutherna, the construction of long, rectangular “megaroid” structures in Sector 1 and the Pyrgi quarter, identified as cult or administrative buildings, dates to the mid- or late 7th century⁴⁸. At Prinias, a major public building was constructed in the center of the settlement at the end of the 8th century, and Temple A, with its elaborate sculptural program, was built nearby in the 7th century⁴⁹. At Aphrati, an extensive complex including a large rectangular room with an interior bench along the walls seems to have been built over an earlier structure in the 7th century⁵⁰. And in the area of Kavousi, the late 8th and 7th centuries saw the abandonment of a number of dispersed settlements and an intensification of occupation at the site of Azoria, where two major structures interpreted as public buildings (the “Monumental Civic Building” and the “Communal Dining Building”) were erected toward the end of the 7th century as part of a general rebuilding of the center of the site⁵¹.

A tentative connection with communal dining has been proposed for the megaroid buildings at Eleutherna and for the building at Aphrati⁵², and clearer evidence for eating and drinking, in the form of drinking vessels and animal bone, has been found in conjunction with temples A and B and associated buildings at Prinias⁵³. The buildings at Azoria, however, present the most extensive contextual evidence we have for communal dining and drinking in non-domestic space in a 7th–6th century Cretan settlement. In both the “Communal Dining Building” and the “Monumental Civic Building” were found extensive paleobotanical and archaeozoological remains suggestive of feasting⁵⁴. The “Communal Dining Building”, however, had room for a much smaller number of people; produced a wider variety of animal foodstuffs, including seafood; and contained a series of elaborate fenestrated terracotta stands that the excavators interpret as krater supports⁵⁵. Kraters are not well represented in the associated ceramic assemblage, but the bronze dinoi of the Orientalizing necropolis at Aphrati suggest that the more prestigious versions of these vessels may have been made of metal. While a few kraters can be associated with the “Monumental Civic Building” as well, the character of the ceramic and faunal assemblages from this and the “Communal Dining Building” sug-

48 Stampolidis 2004, 49, 110.

49 D’Acunto 1995; Palermo et al. 2007.

50 Λεμπέση 1969; 1970; Viviers 1994, 244–247.

51 Haggis et al. 2007; Haggis et al. 2011.

52 Eleutherna: Haggis et al. 2007, 262, on the basis of evidence presented in Themelis 2003; Aphrati: Viviers 1994, 245–247, followed by Brisart 2011.

53 D’Acunto 1995; Palermo et al. 2007.

54 Haggis et al. 2004; Haggis et al. 2007; Haggis et al. 2011.

55 Haggis et al. 2004, 373–375; Haggis et al. 2011, 14.

gest to the excavators that the first housed larger-scale communal feasts, while the second “hosted more intimate drinking activities”⁵⁶.

Part of a bronze helmet crest was also recovered from the area of the “Communal Dining Building”, and the excavators interpret this as further evidence for an association between armor and spaces that housed communal dining and drinking in the 7th century⁵⁷. Bronze armor of the late 7th and early 6th centuries has been recovered from several settlement contexts on Crete, most notably Axos and Aphrati. The inscriptions on the pieces of armor from Aphrati are generally agreed to indicate that they were taken as spoils⁵⁸. Several scholars have argued that both armor and weapons might have been dedications on display in the same civic contexts where communal dining took place⁵⁹. This would represent the translation of an important component of elite male identity from the individual sphere of the tomb or the home to the collective realm of the dining hall, and its re-centering away from personal weapons – equally useful for both internal and external conflicts – and toward the tokens of combat with enemies outside the community. Brisart has argued persuasively that not only the function and display context of this armor, but also the Orientalizing style of its relief decoration served to reinforce the collective self-definition and communal values of the citizen body of these Proto-archaic cities⁶⁰. A similar interpretation might be proposed for the frieze of riders on Temple A at Prinias, itself a building associated with communal dining and drinking.

Yet the changes in attitude implied by the transfer of military symbolism to civic space would, in the end, have been fairly subtle. I argued above that emphasis on warrior identity reflected participatory claims to elite male status, and both the archaeological and literary records indicate that such claims would have been made all the more prominent by permanent display and verbal commemoration in a public place, even if subject to a degree of communal constraint⁶¹. By contrast, the relocation of communal drinking to public space would have entailed a major reordering of social practice: where before kraters or dinoi could be mobilized in

56 Haggis et al. 2011, 27.

57 Haggis et al. 2004, 373–375; Haggis et al. 2011, 14–16.

58 Perlman 2010, 101; Brisart 2011, 268.

59 Viviers suggests that the building where the 7th–early 6th-century Aphrati armor was found was an *andreion*, and that such a communal hall would have been a natural place to display such objects: Viviers 1994, 245–249. Perlman has published a Late Archaic inscription from Axos that seems to make the division and dedication of spoils a civic act, and contrasts that with an earlier votive deposit of armor at the site that she suggests represents “private” dedications, in keeping with the personal dedicatory inscriptions found on the Aphrati armor: Perlman 2010, 100–102.

60 Brisart 2011, 268.

61 Meals in the *andreion*, as described by Dosiadas, involved the celebration of individual martial excellence through the award of choice foods and through the telling of tales of glory: Dosiadas FGrH 458 fr. 2, 25–30 (= Ath. 4, 143 a–d); cf. Viviers 1994, 248 f.

residential or funerary contexts as part of a family's strategy of entrepreneurial or patron-role drinking, the designation of a special public area for commensal activities limited to male citizens forced communal drinking firmly into a diacritical framework. The result was the welding together again of two vocabularies of elite male identity – one (fighting) rooted in physical ability and courage, the other (drinking) connected to wealth and social capital – that had drifted apart after the Protogeometric period. Drinking had previously offered opportunities to claim both participatory and positional status; now it was anchored, with fighting, in an exclusively participatory mode.

Brisart's recent work presents a compelling account of the way the artistic components of this system fostered a sense of unitary civic identity among the elites of early Cretan cities. He sets this in stark contrast to the competitive "*modes de reconnaissance sociales*" on display in the "aristocratic banquets" of contemporary mainland Greeks⁶². This contrast should be tempered, however, by two observations that emerge from a close examination of the appearance of kraters in archaeological contexts across time. The first is that the movement of kraters out of cemeteries and into civic space in the 7th century is part of a much longer-term oscillation of Cretan communal drinking between personal and collective sponsorship. Patterns in the deployment of mixing-bowls from the Late Bronze Age to the Archaic period strongly suggest that drinking practices had long been at the center of competing positional and participatory strategies for the assertion of status and identity (Tab. 1).

The second is that this oscillation between "public" and "private" drinking and between patronage and participation is equally visible elsewhere in Greece. I have elaborated on this argument elsewhere⁶³, so I will note only a few examples. Perhaps the best lies in the role of kraters and banqueting equipment in the Geometric and Orientalizing graves of the Kerameikos at Athens, where scholars have argued for shifts from patron-role to diacritical drinking and from funerary vocabularies that claim status in terms of commensal patronage to those that emphasize citizen identity⁶⁴. On a more general level, the shift from the inclusion of weapons in graves to the dedication of metal wealth in sanctuaries in the late 8th or early 7th century has been well documented⁶⁵; drinking appears to have been equally implicated in these changes, since the mid-7th century also saw the construction of the earliest known building clearly meant to house klinai in the sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina⁶⁶. Similar patterns can be identified in the early Sicilian colonies, where the interaction between settlement and necropoleis is clearer. Kraters

⁶² Brisart 2011, 166–173.

⁶³ Rabinowitz 2009.

⁶⁴ For the first: Kistler 1998; for the second: Houby-Nielsen 1992.

⁶⁵ Snodgrass 1980; Morgan 1998, 86–88.

⁶⁶ Leypold 2008, 15–17.

Tab. 1: Chart of relation between social structure, community size, status display, drinking modes, and appearance of kraters, weapons, and special cups and ritual equipment. Period abbreviations as in Coldstream – Catling 1996. Population numbers are very rough estimates simply meant to express orders of magnitude, although they are calibrated more or less to match the estimates for Knossos presented in Whitelaw 2004, 156 fig. 10.8. Question marks indicate cases in which either settlement or funerary evidence is lacking

Community size, social organization	Krater appearance	Weapon appearance	Special cups, sacrificial/ritual equipment appearance	Primary expression of status	Primary drinking mode (following Dietler's typology)	Sites (periods)
Small community (<1000), hierarchical	In a few wealthy tombs, close association with individuals; concentration in a few houses	In a few wealthy tombs, sometimes in conjunction with kraters	In a few wealthy tombs; concentration in a few houses	Positional (hosting)	Patron-role	Mochlos (LMIIIA-B); Karpfi (LMIIIC); Knossos (SM-EPG), Phaistos (PG)?
Small community (<1000), egalitarian	In funerary space but rare inside tombs, frequent in houses, occasionally in public/religious spaces	In many tombs of moderate to high wealth	Special cups in many tombs, sacrificial/ritual equipment rare in tombs; both in public/religious spaces	Participatory (drinking and fighting)	Potentially entrepreneurial	Kavousi Kastro (LMIIIC-G)
Large community (1000–2000), transitional (egalitarian with emerging hierarchies)	In numerous tombs of moderate to high wealth, but not closely associated with individual male burials; in some houses, in public/religious spaces	In many tombs of moderate to high wealth, often in conjunction with kraters	Special cups in many tombs, often in conjunction with kraters; sacrificial/ritual equipment in some tombs; both in public/religious spaces	Competing positional and participatory strategies	Entrepreneurial, strong diacritical elements	Phaistos (LMIIIC), Vrokastro (PG-EG), Knossos (PG-MG), Eleutherna (PGB)

Community size, social organization	Krater appearance	Weapon appearance	Special cups, sacrificial/ritual equipment appearance	Primary expression of status	Primary drinking mode (following Dietler's typology)	Sites (periods)
Major center (2000+), stratified or hierarchical	In funerary space but rare inside tombs, in some houses, most frequent in public/religious spaces	In some wealthy tombs, in public/religious spaces	Special cups and sacrificial/ritual equipment occasionally in wealthy tombs; both more common in public/religious spaces	Participatory	Diacritical	Phaistos (LMIIIA-B), Knossos (LMIIIA-B, LG), Eleutherna (EG-Archaic), Prinias (G-Archaic); Azoria (G-Archaic)?
Major center (2000+), transitional (stratification or hierarchies contested)	In some tombs of moderate to high wealth, close association with individuals; in some houses, in public/religious spaces	In some tombs, usually not in conjunction with kraters; in public/religious spaces	Special cups in some tombs, sacrificial/ritual equipment in a few tombs; both in public/religious spaces	Competing positional and participatory strategies	Diacritical, strong entrepreneurial elements	Knossos (O; Late Archaic?), Aphrati (O; Late Archaic?)

appeared in a series of first-generation burials, some of them of children, in the Fusco necropolis at Syracuse and in some mid-7th century burials at Selinus, while they were also frequent in early 7th-century residential space at Megara Hyblaea. After the middle of the 7th century, however, they became rare in funerary contexts at all these sites, while in settlement contexts at Megara Hyblaea, they were concentrated in the civic space around the agora, where a number of public buildings with possible commensal functions had recently been erected⁶⁷. Finally, from the end of the 7th century to the middle of the 6th, weapons were reunited with drinking, at least on a symbolic level, on Corinthian and Attic figured pottery, where weapons and armor are depicted hanging on walls in the background of drinking parties⁶⁸. Van Wees has argued that the same moment brought an end throughout Greece to the tradition of bearing arms around one's own community⁶⁹. It may be possible to identify here too a broader reframing of elite male identity in terms of collective values and public practices.

On the whole, the ways in which drinking and fighting contribute to elite male self-definition in 7th-century Crete correspond closely to trends across the Early Archaic Greek world. Even the time-honored distinction between the symposium and the *andreion* breaks down on close examination: the archaeological record indicates that, just as elsewhere in the Greek world, 7th-century Cretans drank in small groups from a shared mixing vessel; their drinking equipment and consequently their drinking practices were strongly influenced by contacts with Near Eastern culture; those drinking practices were constitutive of social identities, status, and relationships; and just as elsewhere, the manipulation of symbols of communal drinking in funerary contexts reveals a tension between equality and hierarchy within those relationships. Furthermore, an opposition between “public” drinking venues on Crete and “private” contexts elsewhere is not supported by the evidence. On Crete as elsewhere in early Greece, it is difficult to draw firm lines between “public” and “private” drinking. Even at Azoria, where thorough and well-published excavations have produced strong arguments for the concentration of commensal activities in two major public buildings, kraters and drinking vessels also appear in private houses⁷⁰. Conversely, in Early Archaic Greek settlements outside Crete, there is widespread evidence for drinking in “public” contexts, while the domestic contexts that have been excavated seem generally to be unsuitable for formal drinking-parties⁷¹. The only consistent Cretan deviation from drinking practices in the rest of the Early Archaic Greek world is posture: that Cretans ate

67 E.g. the “heroon” next to the agora: Bergquist 1992.

68 Schäfer 1997, 25 f., noting that the weapons disappear shortly before the middle of the 6th century BCE.

69 Van Wees 1998, 347.

70 E.g. the Northeast Building: Haggis et al. 2007, 246–252.

71 Lang 1996, 117; 2005, 27; Nevett 2010, 50–56.

and drank together in a seated position is evident from the architecture of the buildings that housed commensal activities (rectangular, with narrow benches) as well as later written sources. Even this, however, can hardly be taken as an indication of adherence to traditional “Homeric” practices and an austere contrast to the Oriental luxuries of the symposium. The stone support of a bench from a public(?) building at Eleutherna is carved to represent the sort of elaborate wooden leg usually associated with Assyrian and Anatolian dining furniture⁷², and it is also worth recalling that in the 9th century, when Cretan drinking habits first began to reflect Near Eastern influence, Assyrian nobles too still sat to drink.

The recalibration of displays of drinking and weapons to emphasize participatory male status, then, is not a uniquely Cretan phenomenon, and cannot be explained as a function of “Homeric” tradition or some inherent quality of Cretan society. The tension between patronage of and participation in elite collective activities seems instead to be a common feature of early Greek communities. The way this tension is dealt with on Crete is, however, distinct in timing and degree. In terms of timing, mortuary evidence suggests a shift from “patron-role” to “entrepreneurial” drinking as early as the Protogeometric period, several generations before a similar shift is visible in mainland necropoleis, and a similarly precocious addition of “diacritical” to “entrepreneurial” strategies in the late 9th and early 8th centuries, perhaps by an initial effort to shift drinking into civic space by the mid-8th century. The massive changes in burial habits and settlement architecture in the 7th century reflect, in this interpretation, a second round in the struggle to reduce opportunities to create intra-elite inequality, at a moment when many other Greek cities were trying something similar for the first time. In terms of degree, the solutions adopted by Cretan communities toward the end of the 7th century seem more comprehensive than those of other Greek communities, where there is a more gradual and uneven shift in the distribution of kraters away from houses and tombs and toward civic and religious spaces.

Even these more drastic measures, however, do not seem to have frozen communal drinking in a “civic” form, and drinking practices apparently remained as much in flux during the rest of the Archaic period on Crete as they had been in previous centuries. “Symposiastic” drinking with imported kraters persisted in various contexts across the 6th century, and Corinthian, Attic, and Laconian kraters from the 6th-century necropolis at Eleutherna represent an awareness of mainland drinking fashions⁷³. Elsewhere in the Greek world, there seems to have been

⁷² Bolster leg from Eleutherna: Stampolidis 2004, 49. 188 no. 91. There are other indications that Cretans were aware of Near Eastern commensal furniture by the 8th century: fragments of two bronze miniature shields from the Idaian Cave depict klinai: Kunze 1931, 31 no. 71bis; Markoe 1985, 239; discussion in Seelentag, forthcoming, ch. 11.

⁷³ Erickson cites kraters in connection with drinking in a probable religious context at Priniatikos Pyrgos (Erickson 2010b) and discusses ongoing trade contacts between Eleutherna and the mainland: Erickson 2010a, 275–287.

an intensification of sympotic competition and a drift back toward private sponsorship from the middle of the 6th century. This provoked various reactions: in western colonies like Megara Hyblaea and Selinus, there was another boom in the construction of public dining/drinking facilities⁷⁴, while Sparta seems to have pursued a more radical rejection of private drinking and sympotic luxury, echoing the Cretan break three generations before⁷⁵. It is very difficult to say whether such tensions also re-emerged in Cretan communities, since Azoria is the only 6th-century settlement where public and private contexts have been distinguished and assemblages thoroughly recorded and published⁷⁶. Funerary contexts are also ambiguous. At Eleutherna, Laconian kraters became increasingly popular in the Orthi Petra necropolis in the middle decades of the 6th century, but it is unclear whether these formed part of tomb assemblages, were tomb markers, or should be associated with funerary drinking rituals⁷⁷.

At least one Late Archaic inscription from the same site, however, hints at a need to regulate out-of-control drinking: the $\mu\eta\ \iota\nu\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\nu$ inscription, now in the Rethymnon museum, prohibits drinking to drunkenness except when *dromeis* (adult or young adult citizens?) are getting drunk together under particular circumstances at “Dion Akron”, perhaps a rural sanctuary or border post⁷⁸. Like the inscription from Axos dealing with civic control over the dedication of arms, this inscription may reflect a moment when the community felt it necessary to reassert collective control over displays of elite male status. Renewed claims to personal sponsorship of communal drinking may also be reflected in the inclusion of imported kraters in several graves of the early 5th century at Kastello Varypetrou, or in the presence of kraters and “sympotic sets” in contemporary domestic contexts at Knossos and Apherati⁷⁹.

To examine communal wine consumption from a formalist perspective – to insist on the presence or absence of symposia *stricto sensu* in Archaic Cretan communities, or seek to identify the earliest *andreion* – is to ignore the fundamental social role of drinking: the construction and mediation of relationships between drinkers. In order to understand the connection between drinking practices and society, then, it is more important to explore the way ideas of equality and dominance, obligation and reciprocity, play out among fellow drinkers than it is to cre-

⁷⁴ Gras et al. 2004, 423 (*hestiatorion* at Megara Hyblaea); Mertens 2006, 182. 186 (banquet hall in block next to agora at Selinus).

⁷⁵ Powell 1998; Rabinowitz 2009.

⁷⁶ Prinias, the best parallel, lacks late 6th-century levels and is incompletely reported. Finds, including kraters, are enumerated in Rizza 2008, but without contextual interpretation.

⁷⁷ Erickson prefers to see them as tomb markers or grave goods, but does not exclude the possibility that they were used in funerary drinking: Erickson 2010a, 45–52. 275.

⁷⁸ SEG 41, 739: van Effenterre 1991; van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, 346; Stampolidis 2004, cat. 9. 154; Perlman 2004, 102.

⁷⁹ Erickson 2010a, 251 tab. 10.1; 327.

ate typologies of drinking according to narrowly-defined formal attributes. In this light, the role of communal drinking in Archaic Cretan society is a particular response to a general struggle to define full political agency in increasingly large and complex communities. This struggle stems from the basic dilemma I sketched at the beginning of this discussion: is elite male identity best expressed by the *aristos* or by the *agathos*? These two models are not ideologies, but strategies of self-representation, and they reflect concrete relationships between peers, not attitudes toward the civic body in the abstract⁸⁰. The *aristos* maintains his superiority in part through the sponsorship of communal eating and drinking and the creation of obligation and dependency among his guests. The *agathos*, on the other hand, maintains his status by jealously defending his honor and independence, and by claiming an equal place in commensal and sympotic activities. The *aristos* is well suited to small, face-to-face communities, but larger communities, in which too many *aristoi* guarantee civil strife, need *agathoi*.

I submit that these competing models of elite identity are visible archaeologically in patterns of krater use: when kraters appear most frequently in houses and tombs, they reflect the patronage of communal drinking by those attempting to claim positional status as *aristoi*; and when they are largely absent from tombs and appear primarily in public or religious space, they represent the dominance of the participatory ideal of the *agathos*. By this measure, many Greek cities had embraced the notion of the *agathos* by the mid-7th century BCE, and largely held to that ideal until the mid-6th century, although it remained in constant tension with the model of the *aristos*, which returned to prominence in the later 6th century. On Crete, evidence for communal drinking from both settlement and funerary contexts suggests increasing tension between the two models in the early 8th and again in the mid-7th century (and perhaps once more in the early 5th as well). Somewhere between the late 7th and the mid-6th century, Cretan communities reacted radically to this tension: they institutionalized dining and drinking in an attempt to remove the potential of those activities to create inequality and obligation through individual patronage. At the same time they increased their emphasis on participatory sources of status, especially warfare. As Brisart and others have noted, these choices reflect a preoccupation with elite cohesion. Communal drinking had been an important element in male identity since the Late Bronze Age, and the individual sponsorship of such activities posed a threat to the manhood of those less able to host. The suppression of the role of private wealth in communal drinking, then, reduced the chance of conflict and inequality within the ranks of the elite⁸¹.

⁸⁰ In contrast to Morris' "elitist" and "middling ideologies", which otherwise capture a similar distinction: Morris 1996. Problems with the attribution of defined "ideologies" to consistent groups of elites in this period have been discussed in Kistler 2004 and Hammer 2004.

⁸¹ Erickson suggests that this strategy may have been encouraged by heightened conflict with other communities: Erickson 2010a, 308; the presence of a potentially restive servile population, as at Sparta, might also have been a factor.

Archaic Cretan society was thus not “aristocratic” by either modern or ancient definitions: by the end of the 7th century, the citizen body of Cretan communities seems to have been composed, at least ideally, of *agathoi*, not *aristoi*. Even Plato is unsure what term best describes this arrangement, but in the *Republic* he settles on “timocracy” or “timarchy” to characterize the Cretan and Spartan systems⁸². Such societies, the product of the degeneration of “true” aristocracy, straddle the divide between that and oligarchy: like aristocracy, they prioritize martial virtue, but like oligarchy they promote the compulsive accumulation of family riches. Plato imagines that timocracies arise from the breakdown of an aristocratic class into two groups, one focused on acts of valor, the other on wealth, and from a compromise between them that provides internal equality through the expropriation of property from other groups in the community. It is particularly telling that Plato’s sketch of the “timocratic youth” locates his motivation in insecurity about his manhood, for Cretan communities seem to have been particularly concerned with the relationship between masculinity and sociopolitical structures. Just as Plato’s pure aristocracy decomposes into groups focused on virtue and groups focused on economic gain, so early Cretan society seems to have wavered for centuries between two distinct ideals of masculinity: the wealthy, sophisticated patron of formal communal drinking, and the fighter and fellow-drinker who recognizes no one as his better. The available archaeological evidence suggests that around the end of the 7th century on Crete, the question was settled in favor of the latter, leaving us with our Classical vision of abstemious *andreia* and communal values – but recent archaeological work has complicated this picture, and it should not be surprising if future excavations in Archaic settlements reveal that the former never quite disappeared.

Illustration Credit

Figs. 1–3; Tab. 1: author

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⁸² Pl. Resp. 545b–550b.

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Gunnar Seelentag

An Epic Perspective on Institutionalization in Archaic Crete

Material and Methodology

It is evident that Crete with its remarkable development in material culture has the potential to be a fascinating case study for the evolution of the *polis* in Archaic Greece. For with the questions posed in the introduction, we are right at the heart of the discussion of the origins of the citizen state, and at the core of what it meant to be Greek¹. Fortunately Archaic and Classical Crete offers many authentic sources with which to begin answering these questions. First and foremost for the historian there are many law inscriptions from a number of *poleis*, especially from Central Crete. Among these is material that dates to the 7th century and therefore takes us right to the time around which the changes in cultural practices and material culture took place².

These sources can contribute to answering the question or what social developments could have caused an abandonment of traditional elite distinction. Concretely speaking, was the primary cause a struggle between *aristoi* and *demos*, in the course of which the rising class of hoplite citizens forced their elites to refrain from practices that were their battle ground for individual recognition? Or do we see the reflection of a self-restraint of the *aristoi* who were eager themselves to channel their competition and control their conflicts? Or do we need to find some intermediary explanation between these two polarised scenarios?

Given the potential these Cretan inscriptions have, to describe, analyze and explain society in Archaic and Classical Greece it is remarkable that they are used only very selectively. Monographs or edited volumes concerned with topics like the origins of the *polis* and the beginnings of citizen-statehood in Greece rarely mention them. Most of the Cretan inscriptions play no role whatsoever in these accounts. Others – very few indeed – enjoy a certain prominence. But even this prom-

PD Dr. Gunnar Seelentag, Historisches Seminar – Alte Geschichte, Goethe Universität, Grüneburgplatz 1, 60629 Frankfurt a. M., Germany, seelentag@em.uni-frankfurt.de

1 For material culture and cultural practices in Archaic and Classical Crete see Link 1994; Gehrke 1997; Morris 1998; Kotsonas 2002; Chaniotis 2004; Whitley 2005; Whitley 2009; Whitley 2010; Erickson 2010; Wallace 2010; the contributions to this volume; Seelentag 2013; Seelentag, forthcoming (a); forthcoming (b); notable case studies are Perlman 2000; Perlman 2002; Perlman 2004b.

2 IC I–IV; Koerner 1993; van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994; van Effenterre – Ruzé 1995; Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming, offer these inscriptions with a commentary and translation. For discussions of the unity or common traits of polities in Central Crete see Link 2002; Link 2008 and Chaniotis 2005; cf. Perlman 1992; Perlman 2005.

innence is debatable, because it often decontextualizes the very source. The probably best-known inscription from Archaic Crete and one of the most frequently cited sources from early Greece is the regulation about the *kosmos* of Dreros³. It reads:

(θιὸς ὅλοι ὄν)
 ἄδ' ἔφαδε | πόλι· | ἐπεὶ κα κοσμήσει | δέκα φετίδων τὸν ἄ-
 φτὸν | μὴ κόσμῃν, | αἱ δὲ κοσμησιε, | ὁ(π)ἔ δικασσιε, | ἄφτὸν ὀπῆλιν | διπλεῖ |
 κἄφτὸν
 ἄκρηστον | ἦμεν, | ἄς δόοι, | κῶτι κοσμησιε | μηδὲν ἦμην. {vac.}
 × ὁμόται δὲ | κόσμος | κοῖ δάμιοι | κοῖ | ἴκατι | οἱ τᾶς πόλ[ιο]ς. {vac.}

May the God destroy him (!)

Thus has it pleased the *polis*: When a man has been *kosmos*, for ten years the same man shall not be *kosmos*. If he acts as *kosmos*, whatever he decides, he himself shall owe double, and he shall be useless as long as he lives; and what he does as *kosmos* shall be as nothing.

The Swearers: the *kosmos*, the *damioi* and the Twenty of the *polis*.

This is the earliest example we have of an inscribed regulation from Greece. In the second half of the 7th century it was inscribed in large letters on the outer wall of a building that had been erected above the *polis'* *agora* in the 8th century and was connected to that public space by a set of steps. This hearth house is best understood as having been used for all sorts of activities, among which were sacrifice and communal dining⁴. The Drerian law is often perceived as witness to the assumption that, already in the 7th century, a strong *polis* confronted the office-holders, members of the aristocratic elite, with authority. And to come to this conclusion, it is presupposed that this *polis* is to be identified with the *demos*. Thus it is assumed that the elites' inner strife had been affecting the cohesion of the citizen-state beyond what was tolerable. The arising self-consciousness, however, of a proud class of citizen soldiers had disciplined the *aristoi*. A strong *demos* was exercising its influence over the *aristoi* and monumentalised the new normative behaviour in the form of inscriptions like this one⁵. If we stopped here, the law of Dreros

³ *Editio princeps* Demargne – van Effenterre 1937; ML no. 2 = Koerner 1993, no. 90 = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 81. Translation by Fornara 1983, no. 11 (with modifications). – For the invocation see Pounder 1984.

⁴ Perlman 2004a; Prent 2005, esp. 284–289; Gagarin 2008, esp. 45–50, on the architectural context and the epigraph itself.

⁵ The Drerian regulation is called a “law on the constitution”, “in which the polis sought to regulate its principal judicial official by ensuring he did not hold office longer than for one year.” It is stated “the authority behind such laws was not a king, not an aristocratic council of elders, but the community, the assembly, the polis.” And “clearly such regulations which often resulted in incisive innovations, must have been prompted by strong pressure from within the polis to limit abuses by the elite and secure equal treatment for all.” Here it becomes evident that “the polis had achieved a marked sense of community (...) and a strong sense of community is one important precondition

would seem to corroborate the notion that the change in material culture had likewise ultimately been triggered by the *demos* putting a limit on aristocratic competition.

The perception of the Cretan laws and the explanations derived from them are tainted by a specific presupposition, which is the result of today's "master narrative" of the history of Early Greece. This term in the subject of history denotes grand explanatory models that become the leading interpretation in a certain age or for a certain narrative perspective. Therefore it is of great importance for us as scholars when we reflect upon our own role in interpreting the sources to try to identify those master narratives that determine scholarship in our given field – and are often not expressed explicitly⁶.

Today's master narrative regarding the evolution of the *polis* in early Greece is based upon an evolutionary determinism of a "Road to Democracy." Many accounts draw a more or less straight line from the societies reflected in the Homeric and Hesiodic epics through various early laws, like the ones from Dreros and Chios, the *Great Rhetra* and Draco's law on homicide, to the *polis* in Classical times. And there, in most cases, it is Athens that marks the highlight or even the happy ending of this development. Such a perspective is fostered by the observation that all of these sources from various regions of Greece share some structural traits. They display a comparable basic set-up of institutions – of offices, political bodies and procedures. So we might conclude that all of these societies had faced structurally similar hardships at some time. But this does not make them manifestations of a somewhat linear development⁷.

It is always emphasised that the "constitutions" or the systems of regulations that we grasp in the early sources of course still had to develop considerably so as to reach the refined institutional set-up of Classical Greece. But the methodological crux is that the early sources and the societies they reflect are far too often viewed against the background of later stages of Greek history and interpreted with the help of, or in light of, later institutions. Even if scholars explicitly reject this presupposition, it still seems very hard for them to not follow an anachronistic path. The main problem is that once we have internalized a picture of a well-developed institutional set-up like the Athenian one, our view of this will significantly determine our perception and interpretation of earlier institutions.

With the Athenian democracy in the back of our minds we will not necessarily regard the Homeric *agora* or the Dreros law as its immediate forerunners, let alone

for the emergence of democracy." Therefore this law "confirms that oligarchic republicanism had established itself in Crete from a very early date." – Quotations are Raaflaub – Wallace 2007, 44; Wallace 2007, 53; Raaflaub – van Wees 2009, 46; Whitley 2009.

⁶ Regarding the concept of "master-narrative" in historical studies see Jarausch – Sabrow 2002.

⁷ This master-narrative is prominent in Anglophone scholarship, but a similar evolutionary determinism is pervading e.g. Ch. Meier 1980; 2009; Stahl 2003; cf. on methodology Welwei 1992, 76–132; Gehrke 1995; Dreher 2005; Dreher 2006.

as an early stage of democracy. But in looking at these sources we might be prone to privilege those aspects of them that seem to hint at later developments. We might see them as the very elements that would ultimately become prevalent. Instead we need to bear in mind that the processes of institutionalization could go very different ways in different *poleis* because of the factors of topography, geography of settlement, social and historical development or simply because of contingency. Institutions as we see them in early Greek regulations are of course reflections of historical processes. So we must try to understand the specific constellations, from which the earliest stages of Greek institutionalization could have originated. And so I propose that we see early Greek law inscriptions rather against the background of the Homeric and Hesiodic epics than against the institutional framework of *poleis* in Classical or Hellenistic Greece, be it Athenian, Spartan or even Cretan.

To contextualize Archaic Cretan laws and the earliest stages of institutionalization on the island I will look at the epics. The scenarios described especially in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of the relationship between the *basilees* and of their relationship with the *demos* offer us a useful backdrop against which to understand these early regulations.

An Epic Perspective

Again it is evident that this contribution cannot deal with all epic scenarios relevant for our understanding of early Greek institutionalization. Only those issues immediately relevant to gaining a perspective on the evolution of citizen-states in Central Crete will be dealt with. My understanding of the Homeric and Hesiodic epics follows seminal works by scholars such as W. Donlan, K. Raaflaub, Chr. Ulf and D. Hammer⁸. It is the great merit of these authors that they – leaving aside all nuances, and even greater differences between them, which result from their different approaches, employing social-anthropological, politological and historical models – have shown that the societies depicted in the epics have an inner logic and make sense, and that these societies existed at a certain point in time in Early Greece. Nowadays, the majority of scholars employing a historical methodology perceive the epics as reflecting communities just before or around 700 BCE. And it is emphasized that the epics are “political” poems; their special concern is to present and discuss the debates and controversies of that period.

⁸ For the following see Finley 1967; Starr 1986; Qviller 1981; Raaflaub 1989; Raaflaub 1998; Ulf 1990a; Ulf 1990b; Ulf 2009; Welwei 1981; Welwei 1988; Welwei 1992a; Nicolai 1993; Walter 1993, 29–88; Flaig 1994; Hölkeskamp 1997; Hölkeskamp 2002; Hölkeskamp 2003; Donlan 1999; van Wees 2002; Hammer 2002; Hammer 2009; Osborne 2004; Hawke 2011.

In depicting the community of the Greek expedition forces at the Trojan shore the *Iliad* offers us the image of a segmentary society, in which the roles of leadership are performed by a number of high-ranking individuals. These leaders are the epic *basilees* who have to fulfil a great variety of tasks. They do not have a clearly defined area of competence and responsibility, but still they are expected to undertake certain matters relevant to the cohesion of the community, like arbitration on demand, military leadership, the transmission of tradition and identity and – not least – the communication between the members of his community and the immortals. The *basilees* seem qualified for these tasks in the eyes of other members of their society because of their personal merits and their control of resources. Basically, they were the richest members of their peasant communities who had produced such a surplus that they were able to oblige other members of the community to themselves, for example by lending them agricultural supplies or inviting them to feasts. The *basilees* are able to entertain a lifestyle distinguishing them from the “commoners”, but there is little social distance between the elites and the other members of this peasant society. There is no clearly defined aristocratic stratum that entertained repulsory practices and clearly differed from the *demos* or was even in opposition to it.

The *Iliad* depicts *basilees* like Agamemnon and Achilles, Odysseus and Ajax, each of whom is used to being in a relatively secure position at the peak of the social hierarchy in their respective home communities. But now they have come together in the “*polis* by the ships” on the Trojan shore. This epic scenario reflects historical processes that occurred in the formation processes of the *polis*. For when local settlement groups came together to form larger communities with a more elaborate structure, their various leaders had to come to terms with each other. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* sketch the difficulties that went along with these community-building processes and discuss novel courses of action; and they sketch dystopias, like the world of the Cyclops, but also utopian societies, like the *polis* of the Phaeacians. There the community-building process has been undertaken successfully, hierarchies among the leaders have been established peacefully and for the welfare of the people, and the honourable members of the community undertake the necessary communal tasks without any strife.

In the “*polis* by the ships” such hierarchies are far from being well established and uncontested⁹. Consensus among the leaders is hardly ever reached without conflict. Instead their relationship is characterized by competition, and they are ready to claim their high rank in the hierarchy at any time. Just like in the athletic *agon*, competition is fiercest among those who are near-equals. The *basilees* seem to follow the famous advice Peleus gave to Achilles, to “always be best and preeminent above all” and they act accordingly, trying to outdo their peers¹⁰. This “best-

⁹ Rabinowitz 2004, 92. 109–117; Rabinowitz 2009, 159.

¹⁰ Hom. Il. 11, 783–784; 6, 208.

ness” may be proven by various manifestations of charismatic power, for example that they are best at fighting or resolving conflicts, that they give the best advice in council or have divine ancestry, that they command the largest body of soldiers within the army or that they are extraordinarily rich. Unfortunately, these criteria are not hierarchized and so those *aristoi* must continuously keep struggling for social primacy.

All these criteria are necessary to be accepted as one of the best – but they are not sufficient. For the power of the *basilees* depended not only – and I would contend, not even primarily – upon recognition by their peers but rather by the people, the *demos*, the masses of the fighting men. It was their appreciation that determined the *timé*, the honour, of the leaders. And the foremost criterion for high regard was to what degree the respective *basileus* was keeping in mind and heeding the common welfare, to what degree his actions contributed to the wellbeing of the people. Neither the individual *basileus* nor the group of leaders had any executive forces to make social inferiors comply with their will. And so their ability to have the people pursue certain actions mainly depended upon their capacity to make their resolution of these issues plausible to the *demos*¹¹.

It is here that the epics display the tension between personal and extrapersonal power. Agamemnon’s role as *basileutatos*, as chief-in-command of the Greek expeditionary forces, is mainly due to his bringing more ships to Troy than any of the other *basilees*. Besides that, he is not depicted as being the best in anything. On the contrary, his authority is severely compromised, and the weakness of his personal power causes the other *basilees* to constantly challenge his leadership. So it is apparent that the position of the *basileutatos* does not have such extrapersonal power attached to it that it could carry or even lend power to a holder of this position, whose personal power is only little. The holder of a position cannot rest on that merit itself. He has to keep proving himself, keep adding to his personal power – and the best way is by acting in the welfare of the people. To be *basileutatos* or one of the other *basilees* is very different from holding an office as we are used to conceptualizing it.

Neither was the gathering of the *basilees* an institution with extrapersonal power. Size and composition of this conference fluctuated¹². Membership was granted to those who had such social power that the other *aristoi* deemed them worthy to be included in their group. On certain occasions more members could be allowed to the council, especially when things of great importance for the entire community were being discussed. It is significant that these meetings of the *basilees* do not seem to have been called only on demand. This is suggested by scenes like the council of the Phaeacians or the conference of the elders on the Shield of Achilles. Here we see that certain procedures had already been established: a pub-

11 Adkins 1960; Ulf 1990a; Ulf 1990b; Donlan 1997; Donlan 1998; Allan – Cairns 2011.

12 Schulz 2011, 5–90.

lic space in the settlement is reserved for the assembly of the *laoi* and within it stone seats are reserved for the elders. Heralds call together the *laoi* and hold them back during the discussion. This shows us the early stages of institutionalization¹³.

It is hard to say in how far the assembly of the *demos* was a fixture. How the assembly is to be presided over had not yet been established. When called, the people of Ithaca come running, and they know where to meet. So the format itself was well known and generally accepted by leaders and *demos*. The early epics depict the *demos* mainly in the role of an audience. Its members do not vote for anything. They voice their approval or refusal by cheering, muttering and leaving. This is done as a collective; the members of the *demos* do not usually contribute their individual opinions. But the assemblies of the *demos* provided the stage on which the *basilees* had to perform and constantly prove themselves in a bid to retain and increase their prestige. And the assembly was the audience that the *basilees* had to fear when they did not act according to the *demos*' understanding of how a *basileus* should behave¹⁴.

In most cases the epics describe the *demos* gathered in the *agora* as one body, which is not structured in itself. This is not a sign of political irrelevance of the people, but rather seems to reflect their unity, and we gather that solidarity in the face of and versus their leaders is an option – even if this solidarity is instigated by one of the *aristoi* himself¹⁵. This is corroborated by the way Hesiod's *Works and Days* display a system of shared ethical beliefs and horizontal solidarity as a characteristic trait of Early Greek peasant communities. There certainly was the possibility to voice popular opinion, and the *agora* provided the forum for that¹⁶.

The epics make it very evident that the *demos* took offense at actions that put the community in peril, and so the esteem of a *basileus* was calculated by his usefulness to the community and the results of his actions on behalf of the *demos*. At the core of the epics' criticism of the *basilees*' behaviour is their determination to defend their own *timé* against their peers and, in doing so, to neglect the common welfare. In fact, Peleus not only advised Achilles to "always be best" but also reminded him to "curb your proud heart in your breast, for gentle-mindedness is better; and desist from strife, contriver of mischief, so that the Argives both young and old may honour you the more"¹⁷. Indeed the *Iliad* discusses that there are two kinds of competition; one of them endangers the community, because it puts an individual's wellbeing over the society's. The other contributes to the community's cohesion, because it puts common welfare at its center. It is this latter kind of

¹³ Hom. Il. 18, 497–508.

¹⁴ Flaig 1994; Hammer 2002, 150–160; Hölkeskamp 2002; Allan – Cairns 2010.

¹⁵ See e.g. Hom. Il. 2, 235–241; Hom. Od. 16, 424–430. 24, 454–457; Nicolai 1993; Donlan 1998.

¹⁶ See esp. Schmitz 2004; also Walcot 1970; Nicolai 1993, 317–325; Walter 1993, 45–51; cf. Millett 1984.

¹⁷ Hom. Il. 9, 255–258.

“good strife” that instigates the elders on the Shield of Achilles to compete about “who would utter the straightest *dike*.”

Pressure on the *basilees* to display cooperative behaviour for the welfare of the people is exercised not only by the *demos*, but emanates also from the *basilees* themselves. For it is such behaviour alone that can legitimize their collective power and maybe even the steady domination of the few over the many. Only if the *demos* does not suffer as a consequence of its leaders’ actions, their position can appear desirable and become stable, legitimized and institutionalized. Scenes like the – well-founded – criticism of Thersites and his punishment at the hand of Odysseus illustrate just how important, effective and accepted the *basilees*’ cohesion is in situations that threaten to challenge their collective leadership¹⁸.

To conclude up to this point: First, the epic *demos* is of vital importance in the political field, namely as an audience that judges the *basilees*’ decisions, and it is the people’s approval or disapproval that determines the leaders’ *timé*. But the members of the *demos* are not capable of political initiative, neither as individuals nor as a body. And second, the epics discuss the creative tension between cooperation and competition among the leaders. Ideally, the *basilees* understand that dissent among them not only weakens the individual leader but also the legitimacy of the elite collective and ultimately the community as a whole. To consolidate their power they need to cooperate. These two points suggest that the *aristoi* were the driving force behind institutional innovations in the early citizen-state, such as the creation of the concept of extrapersonal power attached to an office. Nonetheless, it seems plausible that one criterion in the course of these innovations was the welfare of the people or rather that these innovations were modelled according to the approval of the people.

Ordering the Kosmos: Shaping Institutions

The law of Dreros shows us that the processes of institutionalization in the early citizen-state were not necessarily determined to develop in a certain direction from the start¹⁹. The term for the office-holder that this regulation focuses on is quite unspecified. “*Kosmos*” does not say anything about concrete tasks. It mainly signifies his social function: he was to create or keep up “order” in the *polis*. That simplicity puts the *kosmos* of Dreros – and other instances of terms for early offices – in line with Homeric tradition, like *archon* and *basileus*, *timouchoi* and *damiourgoi*.

¹⁸ Hom. Il. 2, 212–277, esp. 225–241; Ulf 1990b; Nicolai 1993; Hammer 2005, esp. 113–117.

¹⁹ Remarkably little has been written on how exactly institutions might have originated and been shaped in the early *polis*. Notable exceptions include Dreher 1983, esp. 31–45; Starr 1986, 34–66; Welwei 1992, esp. 76–132; Walter 1993; van der Vliet, 2000; van der Vliet 2003; van der Vliet 2011; Small, forthcoming.

The sum of his tasks is merely described as *kosmein*. But attributing judgments was probably one of his main responsibilities. The inscription after all mentions *ôpe dikaksie* – “whatever he has decided.” Overall, we should conceptualize the *kosmos* not so much as an office-holder in Classical Greece than as a Homeric *basileus*. As such he was responsible for a number of tasks, especially for the preservation of societal peace in the *polis*.

As it is, the first office-holders must have been the most influential of the *aristoi*, who had succeeded in getting into this position. But if the principle of the office should not be to foster an autarchy, but rather to lead to an easing of tensions among the *aristoi*, certain criteria had to be fulfilled. First, either more than just one office had to be created, or one office had to be held by colleagues and they had to be able to somehow divide the probably widespread tasks of the office among each other. And second, a mechanism had to be created by which rotation of the officials could be guaranteed.

In the Dreros law we see the *kosmos* as part of an institutional set-up. Besides him, the regulation mentions the *damioi* and the Twenty of the *polis*. We can hardly say anything about the *damioi*. Most scholars interpret them as a college of office-holders whose title expresses some relatedness to the *demos*. I’d rather identify them with the *demos* itself, *damioi* being an adjective derivation of the other or rather original meaning of *demos*, which is “a certain territory.” This would make them “the people with/of the land.” In this perspective *damioi* implied land-ownership as the necessary and most important criterion for political participation²⁰. The Twenty might have been the council of Dreros; the small size of the *polis* makes this plausible. Their title shows us that they were a college of officials whose number was unambiguously defined and limited. There must therefore have been agreed-on procedures for their composition, which makes the Twenty different from a Homeric council.

It is unlikely that the concept of the office or a specific office was created by a single decision. Rather it would have developed over time. The *aristoi* could recognize deficiencies and find solutions to very concrete problems, but they did not have a master plan, they did not have far reaching concepts for the further development of their society²¹. We see this reflected in the law of Dreros, in the way it limits the powers of the *kosmos*. The institution named “*kosmos*” was already well established in the community, and what this official normally did is not defined in the inscription. This regulation only limits certain personal liberties of the office holders, amends the office in question and thereby adds to the institutional complexity of the concept of what an office was or should be.

²⁰ All other propositions, e.g. with them being financial officers, are without any contemporary foundation.

²¹ As Ch. Meier 1980, 51 remarked: “Die Griechen hatten keine Griechen vor sich” to look upon as prototypes or role models.

That there was a need to improve this office was realized only after certain experiments had been made with it. The tenure of the office seems to have already been limited before this law. The main reasons for this must have been to limit the power of the individual officeholder and to give more than just a few *aristoi* the chance to become *kosmos* and enjoy the benefits of this function. But it is not clear that the principle of rotation had been established yet – a time limit to tenure may not have been clearly defined²². In any case, it seems that only a limited number of men were able to procure the office for themselves over and over again. To forbid iteration for ten years was a decisive amendment to the concept of what an office was and a very incisive measure for regulating rivalry among the *aristoi*.

The law on iteration clearly reflects the fact that the individual's pursuit of personal prestige and the collective's attempts to contain these tendencies stood side by side. The mere fact that this law was passed – and with this content – reflects the efforts of the citizen-community led by their *aristoi* to set and formulate rules. And these were to apply to all members of the society and to penalize trespasses, as we see in the catalogue of severe sanctions. But that this was even necessary shows us that there were individuals who did not want to comply with the will of the group, whose ambitions to acquire symbolic and economic capital surpassed their willingness to be integrated.

The principle of a ban on iteration for an office therefore reflects a compromise²³. On the one hand, it reduced rivalry between the *aristoi*; but it could do so only if the office already had extrapersonal power attached to it and was respected as an institution. On the other hand, these societal benefits are countered by the fact that men of lower prestige and with less power will now be holding the office, simply because the more powerful will be subject to the ban on iteration and no longer eligible. If the office does not yet have enough extrapersonal power attached to it, the institution itself and less powerful office-holders will be harmed. The real power in these circumstances might be exercised outside the institutional set-up, namely by individuals of high prestige who are prohibited from repeated tenure.

Maybe this danger can be observed in our law, as well. All previous explanations contend that this regulation forbids a former *kosmos* from holding the office of *kosmos* again until ten years have elapsed. I propose to translate the *ai de kosmesie* in the 3rd line not as “if he becomes *kosmos*” but instead to comprehend it as “if he acts like a *kosmos*” or “if he acts as if he were *kosmos*”²⁴. This understanding would not assume that a former *kosmos* succeeded in being elected to the office of *kosmos* again. It is not clear just how a former *kosmos* could manage to be made *kosmos* again against the will of his peers and those institutions that the last line mentions as “swearers” to the regulation. So contrary to the established interpreta-

²² See the tradition on the *archon* Damasias in Arist. Athen. Pol. 13.

²³ Papakonstantinou 2002; 2008, 52–54; Link 2003.

²⁴ Seelentag 2009a offers an in-depth discussion.

tion of the law I would suggest that this law forbids a scenario in which a former *kosmos* – without being in office – performed tasks that should be reserved for the office-holders only.

The background to this scenario is presumably that citizens looking for a solution of their conflicts would not approach the office-holders to whom these tasks had been assigned. Instead they would approach a man who enjoyed great prestige because of his personal achievements, among which traditionally was the solution of conflicts. He had proven himself to be a successful arbitrator in the past, while the present office-holders had not. They were men of less personal power, who had become *kosmos* only because the men with greater social power had already been *kosmos* and now were no longer eligible for the office. Therefore, when seeking a lasting solution to their conflicts, the citizens would prefer a man of great personal power over an office-holder, since the latter could gain authority only from the power of the office – and this extrapersonal power was still weak²⁵.

In this case our law would contain two directives: one forbidding repeated tenure of the office, one reserving the performance of certain public tasks for the office – thereby trying to monopolize action. The passing of this law shows that there existed the ideal that an office had extrapersonal power attached to it and that this was supported by public decision – otherwise this law would not have been passed. But the realization of this ideal was still in jeopardy. The purpose of prohibiting repeated tenure of the *kosmos* was to limit the personal power of individual members of the elite and to allow many *aristoi* to enjoy the benefits of the office, to gain symbolic and economic capital. Therefore it was necessary to supplement this regulation with the second one prohibiting such “private” initiatives. These not only damaged the concrete office and the concept of the office *per se*. They also challenged the inner-aristocratic agreement and endangered their acceptance as a collective in the *polis*.

So who was it that decided on regulations like ours? This inscription and many later ones from Crete stated: *hád' éwade póli*. This is usually translated as: “Thus has the *polis* decided”, and most scholars firmly assume that this was the term for the *demos* gathered in the *agora*. But this view is the result of a heavily biased perception of the early Cretan sources that are interpreted against the background of later and democratic citizen-states with a well-developed culture of public debate. Again I suggest that we try to understand the law of Dreros against the background of the epics.

In the early phase of institutionalization, office-holders were probably appointed by the heads of the most influential *oikoi*; at first, presumably, by consensus and without strict rules. After a while, the procedures of appointment reified. The

25 See IC IV 82 = Koerner 1993, no. 156 = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1995, no. 8 (Gortyn, 5th century), which allows parties to have their conflicts solved by an arbitrator, not by the office-holder presumably responsible.

result was a greater stability of the collective of the *aristoi* and greater legitimacy of the concept of the institution and of aristocratic rule in general. We saw that in the epics the decision-making process was performed within the group of the leaders, but it was performed to the *demos*. And the *demos* reacted to these debates by uttering dissent or consent.

So I suppose that from quite early on in the process of institutionalization, the *aristoi* did not simply discuss issues in the presence of the *demos*. Rather, after having come to a consensus among each other, a consensus perhaps informed by popular opinion, the *aristoi* had the *demos* explicitly consent to the decision. The advantage of this procedure would have been to make the *demos*' confirmation an institution to give legitimacy to the consensual but potentially fragile or even contested decisions of the *aristoi*²⁶. That the *demos* would actually confirm the decision was the result of it having been performed in their presence, where they could have reacted against it; and it was the result of their lack of capacity to act as a collective against their leaders. This twofold support of community decisions strengthened both the concept of the institution in general and the individual office holder; because now the disregard of the already agreed-upon regulations would mean transgressing not only the consensus of the *aristoi* but also the vote of the *demos*. This broadened the basis for social sanctions. It became clear that institutions – offices, for example, but also procedures like public decisions – were serving the public interest. This increased the popular acceptance of institutions and of those who – as a group – initiated and provided the manpower to fill them, the *aristoi*²⁷.

I am convinced that the abstract concept of “the *polis*” reflects an integrative process: the joint participation of *aristoi* and *demos* in making political decisions. This contribution cannot elaborate on this in any depth – therefore, just a few words on the observation that *polis* does not equal *demos*. First, W. Donlan convincingly showed that the usage of *demos* in Archaic poetry from Homer and Hesiod through Alkaios and Solon to Theognis is juxtaposed with the term *aristoi*, or is even in opposition to it. Terminologically, the *aristoi* are not part of the *demos*²⁸. So if we were to insist that *polis* equalled *demos* we would have to explain why the *aristoi* were neither included in this formula nor in the decision-making process, which is reflected by it.

Second, many inscriptions and literary sources from Archaic and Classical Greece juxtapose *demos* and *polis* in the very same context. It is, for example, em-

²⁶ Already in Homer grave issues are brought before the assembly, and social deviance – even the assembly's – is reprimanded in public; see e.g. Hom. Il. 1, 55. 1, 93–100. 1, 277–281. 7, 348–353; and Hom. Od. 1, 272–278. 2, 229–241.

²⁷ Flaig 2003, 222–226 and Timmer 2008, 313–315, offer useful comparisons to the relationship of Senate and *comitia* in the Roman Republic.

²⁸ Donlan 1970; Haubold 2000; Werlings 2010; and see Raaflaub 1993.

phasized that the *polis* decided to do various things, and the *demos* in addition swore to that. So they are not the same thing. Third, again both inscriptions and literature from the Archaic and Classical period make use of the phrase *pása, hápasa* or *xúmpasa polis*, meaning “the entire *polis*.” This – as I believe I can show – denotes “the *demos* and its leaders.” And finally, literary sources from the 4th century emphasize that the *demos* in Cretan *poleis* only ratified what had previously been decided by the *kosmos* and the Council of the Elders²⁹. All of these sources draw a consistent picture, which suggests that the *polis*, which is mentioned here in this 7th century inscription from Dreros, is not to be identified with the *demos*³⁰. Rather, as proposed above, we should identify the *damioi* of our inscription with the *demos* of Dreros – being among the swearers, by their consent adding to the binding quality of the regulation.

This, however, is far from being an early manifestation of democracy. In fact, we should not translate the Drerian enactment formula as “Thus has the *polis* decided”, but instead as “Thus it pleased the *polis*”, in accordance with the basic meaning of *andáno*. The presupposed active role of this *polis* then somewhat diminishes, and it becomes easier to perceive this entity as a passive or consenting institution. Against the evidence just sketched out and the background of the epics, the abstract concept of “the *polis*” being “pleased by this” regulation seems rather to reflect a two-tiered process in which decisions were essentially made by the *aristoi*, but performed for the *demos* and consented to by the *demos*. And this greatly enhanced its generally binding quality and acceptance. The *polis* – not only in Cretan citizen-states – was an abstract, a generated entity of superordinate identity that comprised both *aristoi* and *demos* and portrayed them as having acted as one. And starting with this and other inscriptions from Dreros, “the *polis*” was trying to shape not only political institutions, office-holders and procedures; but also other circles of social integration within it, bodies like the *andreia* and the *agelai*, trying to regulate procedures whereby the citizens were socialized, in fact socially homogenized³¹.

People, Leaders and the Common Welfare

In light of the picture drawn by the epics, it becomes quite evident that the first steps toward institutionalization in the early citizen-state were initiated by the *aris-*

²⁹ E.g. SIG 4⁴ = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 32 (Kyzikos, 6th century); Tyrtaios fr. 9 G/P 15–17; IC IV 13 = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 1 (Gortyn, late 7th century); IC IV 64 = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 8 (Gortyn, early 5th century); Solon fr. 4W 5–8. 17. 26; Arist. Pol. 1272a 9–12. 28–36; Seelentag, forthcoming (a) elaborates on these points in detail; Youni 2010.

³⁰ One rather feels reminded of the relationship of plebs and populus in Republican Rome.

³¹ Seelentag 2009b; Seelentag, forthcoming (a).

toi. The initiative to supplement and eventually replace personal roles of governance by extrapersonal power, it seems to me, could only have come from them. They alone were able to serve as the first and future holders of these functions, and their group was small enough to allow for effective consensual decisions. They fortified their role within society by no longer taking on societal tasks by demand only. This meant they didn't have to compete for them each and every time. Instead the *aristoi* managed to separate various fields of responsibility, to stabilize them, and to create rules for the exercise of power within them.

With the passing of time, the layout of these fields and their exclusivity with other fields became better defined, their interrelationship or hierarchy was shaped and a period of tenure for the extrapersonal roles in these fields was stipulated or established. These processes not only reflect, but also enhanced the inner cohesion of the *aristoi*³². One key component within the set of rules of institutionalization was the role of the public. Although the epic *demos* is described as hardly having any capacity to initiate collective behaviour, the role of the people in the early stages of the citizen state was of great importance. Not only was the decision-making process performed and made plausible to them, the people's consent served as an external authority to confirm the validity of decisions, which were potentially contested among the *aristoi*, and thereby to legitimize them as binding for the entire community³³.

The inscriptions from Central Cretan *poleis* display a strictly stratified yet communal society. A class of citizens ruled over a large number of serfs and slaves who had been subdued, bought or forced into debt bondage. From their boyhood on, males were parts of an age class system. As adolescents, they formed small groups and learned everything they needed to become good citizens: hunting, fighting, observance of authority. As adults they were members of one of the men's clubs of the *polis*: societies for communal drinking and dining. These *andreia* offered those social spaces wherein the elites and the *demos* came together, wherein the virtues of a good citizen were performed to the boys and young men also present and waiting the tables³⁴. Here the various kinds of hierarchy – through age-class, economic resources and personal power – were displayed, but commensality in the mess halls also offered the opportunity to bridge these hierarchical gaps between the elites and the *demos*. For it was here that the *aristoi* could prove that they did not use their resources for refined and repulsory practices, which would manifest differences between themselves and the *demos*, but used them to contribute to the common meals, to the common welfare³⁵.

³² Eder 1986; Hawke 2011.

³³ Hölkeskamp 1992; Hölkeskamp 1994; Hölkeskamp 1999, Hölkeskamp 2002; Hölkeskamp 2003; cf. Osborne 1997.

³⁴ Talamo 1987; Lavrencic 1988; Guizzi 1997.

³⁵ Flaig 1993 offers comparative perspectives on the elites of Classical Greece and Republican Rome.

We should not be led to believe that the Cretan abandonment of those elite practices, which were common in most parts of the Greek world, reflect a “demotization of the *aristoi*.” We should rather conceptualize it as an “aristocratization of the *demos*”³⁶. During the 7th century, only *aristoi* had been able to participate in a number of time-consuming cultural practices, which now, starting around 630, were not only extended to members of the *demos*, but were made obligatory for them. Lifelong participation in these practices – among which were the *polis*-organized *paideia*, the training in the *dromos*, the right to carry weapons and partaking in the common meals – was what could be defined as “citizen status”³⁷. These practices were the most important institutions of social homogenization. The main social divide in Cretan *poleis* was not between the elites and the *demos*, but between the citizens and all others, be they serfs and slaves or free; none of them had the right to participate in the relevant civic practices. It was this creation of a distinctive alterity from all others that fostered the feeling of identity among the citizens regardless of the differences between them in wealth and status³⁸.

We need to bear in mind that the development from the Homeric Epics to the polities of Central Crete was by far not the only one possible. Of course, other Greek societies went different ways. But the epics depict an early-state society from which many different roads of development were possible. One was that of Chios, where already around 600 the chances of popular political participation seem to have been greater than in contemporary Cretan *poleis*. Yet other avenues were taken in such different societies as Corinth, Megara or the plains of Thessaly. Here the *aristoi* competed amongst each other in factions and formed temporary alliances, and *staseis* and tyrannies resulted. For a long time, the chances for popular political participation were very slim in these societies, but the *aristoi* never managed to transform their social power into political domination³⁹.

On the other hand, there were societies in which we may observe a change in the material culture, and therefore in cultural practices, similar to that on Crete. Examples would be Spartan austerity after 600, the evidence of Attic graves around 500 and – to a slighter degree – various so-called sumptuary or luxury laws from

³⁶ For this concept see M. Meier 1998 on Sparta.

³⁷ See Arist. Pol. 1264a, 21 and the privileges bestowed upon Dionysios by Gortyn and upon Spen-sithios by Datala: IC IV 64 = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 8; Jeffery – Morpurgo-Davies 1970 = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 22; Walter 1993 and M. Meier 1998 offer comparative perspectives on civic rituals in other polities of Archaic Greece.

³⁸ These distinctions are reflected not only in IC IV 72, 2, lines 2–45 = van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 164, but also in what might be an echo of an “Intentional History” of Archaic and Classical Cretan *poleis*: Ephor. ap. Strab. 10, 4, 16. On this concept see Gehrke 1994; Seelentag, forthcoming (b).

³⁹ See Walter 1993 and Schmitz 2008 for case studies. – We don’t know how great the social divide between the *aristoi* and the members of the *demos* in Cretan polities really was. Hodkinson 2000 shows that among the Spartan *homoioi* there were great differences in wealth and status.

a number of *poleis*⁴⁰. The unique characteristics of Crete, however, seem to be that here political dominion of the *aristoi* was accepted by the *demos*. Here the *aristoi* had understood how to impose restrictions on competition and how to represent their collective social power as contributing to the welfare of the community.

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⁴⁰ See Hodkinson 1998; Powell 1998; Förtsch 2001; Erickson 2010, 334–345 on austerity in Spartan material culture that might provide a backdrop against which to analyse the seemingly corresponding phenomena in Central Crete. Schmitz 2004, 166–189 offers a survey of previous scholarship and a challenging new view on sumptuary laws.

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Karen Rørby Kristensen

Archaic Laws and the Development of Civic Identity in Crete, ca. 650–450 BCE

Although my primary purpose is to discuss how the Archaic laws, those cut in the epichorical alphabets, reflect and sustained the development of civic identity in Crete, there are some other considerations I need to address ahead of this discussion. Methodologically speaking, it is crucial to determine how we should approach the legal material, and even more important perhaps, how we should not. To be more positive towards this methodological issue, I suggest an additional way, that is, by applying the place-space theory of cultural geography and thus broadening our understanding of the development of civic identity.

Aristocratic Crete?

However, we shall begin with the persistent perception of Crete in the course of the “historical” periods as Aristocratic Crete. This perception arose from Aristotle’s famous account of the Cretan Constitution, which has been central in numerous discussions about Crete, whether explicitly as part of the evidence under discussion or implicitly as part of the mental construct on which some modern scholars work. In other words, while Aristotle wrote that the *kosmoi* were drawn from certain *gene* only, he thus apparently proclaimed that all Cretan communities were aristocracies. If Aristotle is taken literally in this way, all other evidence has to be interpreted in terms of an aristocratic order of things, like Ronald F. Willetts did more than 50 years ago. He held that “[t]he inscriptions and the literary evidence about Crete are mutually supporting, in two senses”¹. The former of these refers to the fact that when the epigraphic evidence ceases, the literary evidence comes into being. The latter of Willetts’ twofold perception of the relation between the epigraphic and literary evidence is linked to the nature of the material: the inscriptions contain detailed descriptions, whereas he continued, “the literary evidence, especially that of the philosophers, seeks for general principles about the organization of Cretan political and social life.” Willetts ends up stating that as outside observers these philosophers were “seeking for analogies with actual institutions on the mainland, and for factual data to support their political theory.” Although

Dr. Karen Rørby Kristensen, Department of Culture and Society – History Department, Aarhus Universitet, Jens Chr. Skous Vej 5, Building 1410, Room 135, 8000 Aarhus C, Denmark, hiskrk@hum.au.dk

¹ Willetts 1980, 166.

the political organization of ancient Crete has been subject to discussion, also with different outcomes than those of Willetts, his perception still lives on. Most recently Willetts' Aristocratic Crete has been used to form the basis of a whole synthesis of the specific development of Crete over a thousand years and is applied as the explanation why Crete, allegedly, never developed democracies².

My objection regarding the latter of Willetts' arguments is in fact the reverse of his positive perception – the very general and rather vague nature of the relations of the philosophers does not indicate a specific knowledge nor an actual interest in the structure of the various individual communities. In other words, the political philosophers did not focus on differences (if they in fact knew about them), but basically formed a holistic picture of Cretan society. My objection to the former of Willetts' statements is in fact the occurrence of a *Cretan Mirage*. Ancient literature made use of Crete in order to be in accordance with a certain preconception of something genuine and original. Identity – whether ethnic, regional, religious, etc, is created on a double parameter: people set up identity markers according to their explicit need to express their identity. They may then choose to include outsiders who correspond to this parameter of identity, or, of course remain exclusive (for example, members only being admitted by birth). Identity, however, is also about how the outside world imposes an identity construct onto certain people, which, of course, may encourage these people to enforce their own conception of identity – something which is often seen amongst ethnic minorities in the modern world. The other Greeks (i.e. the “intellectual” Greece) viewed the Cretans and Crete at a distance, and we know nothing about how, or if, the Cretans responded to these conceptions³, which worked simultaneously with interactions of merely private and commercial nature. When we encounter Crete in the ancient literature it is as a Cretan Mirage. The Cretan Mirage in all its different versions is about the conception of Crete and Cretan identity as viewed from the outside world. The way in which the Cretans conceived themselves and evolved their civic identity is another matter, which will be dealt with presently.

Obviously, it is always important to read and interpret ancient literature in its context. Moreover, it is crucial to do that when literary conventions dictate the presentation of various issues, as well as establish stereotypes on the basis of people and their roles in different contexts. Moreover, it is equally important to be aware of the fact that the conception of identity as such also changed profoundly as a consequence of the Persians Wars and the symbolism attached to these events

² See Wallace 2010 (esp. 18–21. 353–388) who adopts both views in the ancient literature about Crete, and the conception of Archaic and Classical Crete as presented in Willetts' extensive production, and, it should be added, incorporates very little of what is written since Willetts 1955 in the field of Cretan history and epigraphy.

³ We lack, for example, mythic genealogies written by a Cretan author, though we cannot rule out the possibility that some of the Cretan foundation myths in fact had a Cretan origin.

in the course of the late 5th through 4th centuries. The literary accounts, to which I refer below, are a few examples of the role that Crete plays in the literature that reflect a development towards a Cretan Mirage. This leads to the development of an Athenocentric political philosophy in the 4th century, which discusses the nature of the best state.

Crete as a Cretan Mirage

One example of how Crete or Cretans are involved in the development and as mediators outside of Crete is *the Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. The date of *the Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is disputed, as most often is the case with the anonymous poetry, but part of it could be from as late as the end of the 6th century. However, whether or not the date of the hymn is old or late, its contents appear to be unaffected by the first decades following the Persian Wars and what these events did for the development of a general Greek identity in Athenian terms. Crete plays its role in the Hymn when Apollo needed a priesthood for his newly won sanctuary in Delphi. He chose Cretan sailors from Knossos who were on their way to Pylos⁴. Apollo abducted these sailors in the form of a huge dolphin (thus the epithet Delphinios was accounted for) and subsequently made them his priests. On their voyage, the sailors were not even close to Apollo's new sanctuary, that is to say, the priests could have come from anywhere in the Greek world. This is one case where Cretans participated and worked as mediators in the process of making one place into another.

Crete plays a perhaps more obvious role in the two competing versions of the foundation of Cyrene as related by Herodotus. The stories have very little in common besides Battos as the founder of Cyrene, the involvement of the Delphic oracle, and Thera as the location from where the expedition took off. Well, there is also – Crete. In the Theran version of the founding story, Crete appears as the place where expert advice was to be found. After the Therans had consulted the oracle on a different matter, they were told to found a colony in Libya. In the process of doing so, they decided to take the advice of a Cretan purple-fisherman Korobios who knew of an island off the coast of Libya. This was an obvious choice, as Crete is closer to the African shore than Thera. It is perhaps more surprising that he came from Itanos on the northern coast of Crete. This could be due to the fact that Korobios had to be Cretan in order to possess this knowledge and Itanos was the obvious site for the storyteller that informed Herodotus. The Cyreneian version is more explicit about Crete's role. While Battos was a native of Thera in the Theran version and was the son of Polymnestos, he appears as a bastard in the Cyreneian version,

4 Hymn. Hom. Ap. 389–541.

though still the son of Polymnestos. In the Cyreneian version, his mother was a concubine, daughter of the King of Oaxos in Crete. Battos' mother was saved by a Theran guest friend of the king who was tricked into making the king get rid of his daughter by throwing her into the deep sea (which he did, but kept a rope around the girl so she was easily saved). The kingship of Cyrene launched this version for the sake of ancestry and royalty, and, of course, to make explicit the founding of Cyrene as the private and individual initiative of Battos. Battos' Cretan origin served nicely to provide the kings of Cyrene in the 5th century BCE with ancestry and authority⁵. In these stories, we again see the Cretans as even more obvious mediators in the transformation of one place into something new. Cyrene was turned into a *polis*.

On the basis of Theophrastos, Porphyrios relates a story about the inauguration of the Athenian Bouphonia or Dipolieia⁶. In this story, Crete serves as the place where the perpetrator of the story, Sopatros, goes into voluntarily exile, a consequence of his ill-tempered slaughter of his ox. The exile of Sopatros served the immediate purpose of removing an unclean murderer from the *polis*. Moreover, it was a serious matter, as Sopatros not only killed his ox, he did so in a sacred space, because the unfortunate ox ate the offerings at the altar. The logic of the story made it necessary for him to go into exile in order to bring about a drought, which caused the Athenians to consult the oracle of Apollo, and thus to inaugurate the blood sacrifice of an ox. Porphyrios' overall purpose of this story was to add yet another argument for the ascetic refusal of eating meat, but this is quite another matter. As far as Sopatros, he could have reached his goal of removing the *miasma* from Athens if he had taken up residence in Megara, for example, or another locality closer to the Athenian territory. Yet my point is that Sopatros had to go as far away as Crete to atone for his actions, because Crete makes things change. The Pythian Oracle provided the whole set-up with religious authority, as it was the refugee *from Crete* of whom the Athenians were in need. Crete then became a Pan-hellenic solution.

However, this is but another example of Crete's appearance as the place far away, suggestive of wisdom, purity and age, and essentially there is an emphasis on Crete being indisputably a part of the *Greek* world⁷. There are of course other myths where Crete plays a similar role. The above-mentioned examples serve to explain why we need not be surprised that Crete was the choice of Aristotle and Plato in their search for a place of reference that included an ancient and austere way of life untouched by greed and endless debates by the common people with

⁵ The Theran version, see Hdt. 4, 150–152, and the Cyrenean version Hdt. 4, 153–158. See also Osborne 1996, 8–15.

⁶ See Porph. Abst. 2, 28–31.

⁷ King Minos' thalassocracy is yet another example; see Arist. Pol. 1271 b37 sq.; Strab. 10, 4, 8; Thuc. 1, 4; 1, 8; Hdt. 3, 122; Pl. Leg. 706 a–b; Diod. Sic. 4, 60, 3.

their many discussions of the right constitution and the best laws. Crete appears in myths as the mediator whenever change occurred or specialists were invoked or called upon in order to transform places and space. The island remained the natural choice as something original in discussions on the good way of life, regardless, however, of the nature of the evaluation offered the Cretans' organization of their lives.

Aristotle's discussion of the Cretan constitution was conducted in very general terms, so on the epigraphic evidence we cannot identify a single location from which he derived his information. We can, of course, point to Lyttos as it has been done before⁸, but we cannot confirm this as an established fact. Furthermore, Aristotle used Crete as a modification of his more elaborate discussion of Sparta. We are more often informed that this particular institution differed from its Spartan counterpart, but we do not have a coherent entity that is the Cretan constitution⁹. Aristotle and Plato, among others, have made us biased towards Crete. The literature cannot fill any gaps, nor can it work as a checklist for the information we dig up from the inscriptions. It is my contention that all examples on my short list constitute a Cretan Mirage as an untouched, Greek place conveniently too far away to be a locality one could know on a face-to-face basis. People did travel to Crete, but hardly any poets or philosophers travelled there in order to study *the real Crete*.

Approaching Civic Identity in Epigraphy: Cultural Geography

Leaving the literature aside, we can focus on the epigraphic evidence in order to explore indications of civic identity. The products of public decision-making in Crete, which are more or less identical to the extant Archaic inscriptions, embrace more than two centuries. In the course of these centuries, institutions altered or had different content at various times and at different places, even though they originate from within the same broader region. Consequently I shall treat the evidence from the same site or the same chronological and geographical cluster auto-referentially¹⁰, this is to say, institutions and phrases or even glosses will be explained on the basis of material that coexisted with the piece under examination.

⁸ See Perlman 1992, 198–201.

⁹ See Arist. Pol. 1271 b20–1272 b23. Aristotle does not discuss property relations, women, inheritance and heiresses in his Cretan case study but elaborates in detail about the common messes, a comparison between the *kosmoi* and the *ephoroi*, as well as on the existence of a dependent population. He makes a case out of the hereditary system amongst the *kosmoi* that eventually makes society cease to be a state. We shall recall that Aristotle's purpose is exactly this, to discuss the nature of a state and the best form of a state. He is not, at all, interested in the actual conditions in Crete.

¹⁰ I have borrowed this concept from Maffi 2003, 162.

However, this does not exclude comparisons to other Cretan material or to general Greek evidence, as long as we remain conscious of the fact that it cannot produce but a likely interpretation. Taking things further we can, of course, use comparisons to illustrate differences, which make us conscious about structural similarities. The heiress is a good case to illustrate this. While the comparison between the heiress in Gortyn (the *patroiokos*, “holder of paternal property”) and the heiress in Athens (the *epikleros*, “she who is attached to the property”) brings about obvious differences, like the right to choose whether to marry the heir-groom in the case of the heiress in Gortyn versus the choice-less heiress in Athens, or the relation between heiress and property in the two localities, structurally both communities shared the need to address the issue of what to do about an estate with only female heirs within a patrilinear lineage system. However, the two versions of the heiress institution differed in some basic aspects, as they were the product of two different legal constructions.

For the present, I confine myself to three cases in the Cretan material where we can discuss civic identity. This rather reluctant prerequisite to address the question of civic identity in Crete on an auto-referential level, however, needs to be combined with a new approach.

Civic identity is how the citizenry establishes its self-definition, that is to say, civic identity is how the citizens expressed their belonging together, their mutual rights and obligations, primarily the collective rules and habits that distinguished a citizen as opposed to any kind of outsider (be it woman, child, dependent laborer, a free person without civic rights, or a foreigner). Yet in order to offer an explanation rather than merely a description of the expression of civic identity and thus also possibly its development, I need to introduce a concept from cultural geography, where there is an ongoing discussion of how we define the spatial order of the world. Geographers used to map the world but have subsequently directed their attention towards the perception of the world¹¹. The human world is not made up only of physical markers like, for example, mountains, oceans, rivers, and plains. Moreover, this spatially ordered world consists of localities that are perceived and organized according to the needs and demands of a specific collective group – virtually represented at all levels of human organization. Places hold identities because people associate thoughts, memories, and feelings, etc. with them. In this way, places can have different identities for different individuals, even at different points in their lives. Our old school does not carry the same identity for us when we become adults or have reached old age. The attachment we have to it differs accordingly. However, places hold not only identities for individuals. The old

11 The spatial turn approaching landscape took off in the 1970s with Tuan's introduction of “Humanist geography.” See Tuan 2005; Creswell 2004; Ingold 2009. For the conception of mental place, see Nora 1996, 1–20.

school is the old school for many people and collectively people attach an identity to this particular old school, as they do for the concept of their “old school.”

Whether this investment in a place occurs on an individual level or on a collective level, it expresses a notion we may call “identity of geography.” Leaving the individual identity of place aside for the present, it is a further development that is of interest for the study of civic identity: the creation of “place-identity.” This refers to the fact that people develop and explore a place in their creation of identity for themselves or for others (like classmates or alumni from a certain school, to use the example from above). Thus these concepts are not particular features of the Cretan communities, but something to be observed in all human societies. However, in exploring the creation of civic identity in Archaic and Early Classical Crete, it is important to include that the Cretans defined their civic identity, among other things, on the basis of place identity, and in particular on the creation of their *polis* as a legal place. While the identity of a place is made up of individual physical places, which in a Cretan *polis* are the sanctuaries, the *agora*, the very *polis* territory, like any other public, semi-public and even private place, place identity appears in various guises. Common to this identity is the fact that people or groups of people derive their identity from a specific place, and that this identity is acknowledged by outside groups of people. The citizens (or in general terms, whoever possesses the legal authority) generate legal place. At the same time, legal place is created on the basis of place identity, because various places define the extent of the legal place in physical terms (as this is the place where litigations involving members of society take place, or this is where our territory ceases and becomes that of our neighbors). At first place identity had defined certain people as those who have full access to and the means to define and control the legal place in which all members of society exist, regardless of legal status. *Polis* is a physical place, but it is also an abstraction that is made up by the communality of the citizens. Likewise, legal place is physically rooted but is primarily a mental construct that provides the citizens with identity and the means to redefine and reactivate identity markers, explicitly through new legislation and implicitly through behavior patterns in the civic landscape. Place identity, by adherence to a number of sites in the *polis*, defines certain people as *poliatai*; legal place is the spatial as well as the mental construct that develops and explains this particular place identity, which by a genuine historical process makes citizens into citizens.

Dreros

The first case to be explored is Archaic Dreros where the oldest Greek laws are found. The eight extant inscriptions were displayed on the temple of Apollo Delphinios¹². One of these inscriptions was partly cut in the language we conventionally

12 Delphinios, see the Hellenistic IC I, ix 1A, lines 20–21.

refer to as Eteocretan and appears to be bilingual. The inscriptions were cut by different masons and originate across a time span of fifty years¹³.

First, we can observe that the inscriptions were cut into the wall of the Apollo temple: a central place that made up an important part of the place identity for the people in Dreros. The Apollo temple obviously possessed a number of individual connotations for the people who passed the temple on their daily or weekly walks to and from the fields, the well, the market, etc. Simultaneously, the temple held collective memories and significance, but this collective memory only belonged to certain people, that is, only citizens in Dreros derived identity from their access to the temple and the cults there. This was further corroborated by the opening formulas of the inscriptions covering the walls of the temple. While the temple was a public and communal building in the sense that a *polis* cult was collective and communal, the decision to exhibit the laws on the walls of the temple sustained the communality of the act of enactment. The opening formulas of the extant laws express this communality. In four cases, the first line of the inscriptions is intact¹⁴, and the expression ἔφαδε is one of the first three words¹⁵. While *polis* is the agent of the legislative action in two cases¹⁶, in the third case we may implicitly take *polis* as the agent¹⁷. In the final case, we find the expression ἔφαδε combined with the dative τοῖσι θυστᾶ[σι] as the agent of ἔφαδε¹⁸. The agent of this decision consists then either of people performing a sacrifice, or of a group of priests (which I find unlikely)¹⁹. While *thyein* generally refers to the act of making an offering, it is most reasonable to understand τοῖσι θυστᾶ[σι] as people conducting an offering. The *poliatai* are referred to as τοῖσι θυστᾶ[σι], but this is not as odd as it seems at first glance. We have to take the expression διαλήσασι πυλάσι (“after consulting of the tribes”) into consideration. This expression means that the *pylai* either met prior to assembly meetings or that the citizenry voted according to *pylai* in the assembly.

¹³ See Jeffery 1990, 309–312.

¹⁴ The expression ἔφαδε also appears in the possibly bilingual inscription lines 3–4 (van Effenterre 1946a, 131 f.), and we could perhaps count this as yet another opening formula.

¹⁵ See van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 81: ἄδ ἔφαδε πόλι; van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 64: πόλι ἔφαδε; van Effenterre – Ruzé 1995, no. 89: ἔ ἀρήϊαν ἔφαδε [sc. πόλι?] (I then follow the alternative reading, disregarding van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 68; van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 27: ἔφαδε).

¹⁶ van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 81. 64.

¹⁷ van Effenterre – Ruzé 1995, no. 89.

¹⁸ van Effenterre 1946b no. 4. I then favour the original proposal in van Effenterre 1946b, 600–602 no. 4. disregarding the reading τοῖς ἰθυστᾶ[σι] (interpreted as ἰθύνειν, Cretan for εὐθύνειν) as suggested in van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 27. If we were to consider the alternative proposal, we are at the same time prepared to accept a new sort of magistrates – “those who make things right.” Epigraphic considerations speak, however, in favour of τοῖσι θυστᾶ[σι] as the correct reading.

¹⁹ That is τοῖσι θυστᾶ[σι] from θύειν, see van Effenterre 1946, 600–602. Though Bile 1988, 31 as well as Rhodes 1997, 301 follow this reading interpreting them as priests. We should note the ἱαρεύς in van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 22, the Spensithios decree, a century later, and the Gortynian 5th century example, IC IV 105, line 4: ἱαρεύς.

In either case, it seems to emphasize the role of the *pylai* in the political decision-making, regardless of the possibility that the *pylai* also may have been brought into the context for military purposes. The first part of the inscription indicates that the *pylai* constituted the main political subdivisions of the citizenry, whether or not one prefers to understand διαλήσασι πυλάσι as an action that took place prior to the assembly meetings (as πύλα-assemblies) or as a vote according to *pylai* during the assembly sessions²⁰. It is tempting to understand the *pylai* with respect to the ἐπὶ πολέμοι (if it is indeed the correct restoration of the text) further below in the inscription. Obviously, whether we should interpret the τὸν ἀγρέταν in a political or a military sense depends upon the reading of the ἐπὶ πολέμοι²¹. If we accept the restoration of ἐπὶ πολέμοι, the involvement of the *pylai* may be explained just as well with respect to their military potential, assuming that the military role of the *pylai* in Crete had a significance comparable to other Greek evidence. It seems evident, however, that the *pylai* were also military organizations in 5th century Gortyn and, therefore, it is not unlikely that this was also the case in Dreros in the late 7th or early 6th centuries BCE. We may consider the possibility that this law in fact had a very specific military purpose, while the inscription continues as follows: ὅστις προ [– | ἐπὶ πολέμοι] εἴε μὴ τίν[τ]εσθα(ι) τὸν ἀγρέταν. This suggests that the provision weakened the juridical capacity of the *agretas*. This could, for example, relate to the mobilization of the tribal regiments. Prior to the enactment of this law, the *agretas* might have had excessive means in terms of enforcing citizens to enroll, which this law now either diminished or all together made void.

The occurrence of *polis* within the material from Dreros is by far the oldest example of the word *polis* in Greek inscriptions. This fact has given rise to many suggestions. In 1943, Ehrenberg stressed that we were facing a developed civic community, which, nonetheless, made him interpret the *polis* as the authority of the magistrates²². Many scholars have followed this interpretation, which rests on the presumption that Dreros was run by an aristocracy (see above)²³. Yet if we choose not to interpret it in terms of the conception created by the Cretan Mirage, we either have to interpret *polis* as the civic community or as the assembly, or we simply have to follow the more cautious scholars who are reluctant to say anything decisive in favor of either interpretation²⁴. Even if the cautious path is taken in the interpretation of *polis*, an important observation can be made. The application of

²⁰ See Kristensen 2002, 71. 79 f., with further references.

²¹ See van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 64 “note critiques” line 2 ἀγρέτας (“assembler”) from ἀγείρω “avec valeur politique ou militaire.”

²² See Ehrenberg 1943, 14–18.

²³ Although Willetts interpreted *polis* as assembly, see Willetts 1980, 167–169, he claimed Dreros was run by an aristocracy. For *polis* as equivalent to *boule*, see Beattie 1975, 13–16.

²⁴ Meiggs – Lewis 1988, 3 dismiss that we can decide whether we should take πόλις as assembly or as city representatives in the case of Dreros. See most recently Perlman 2004, 1157 f. for this point of view.

the term *polis* for the *poliatai* in Dreros stresses that the decision was communal, made by the collective body of citizens (that is, regardless of whatever qualification necessary to obtain citizenship). In any case, the most logical understanding of *polis* in the headings of the laws from Dreros is as the *poliatai*. In one instance: ἔφαδε τοῖσι θυστᾶ[σι], these were referred to as those who made offerings to the gods, presumably because this law dealt with religious matters – perhaps describing how to divide the sacrifice (ὅς μὲν κα διδοῖ ἰσο | λαγκάνεν [τ]ὸ ε[–]), which was also a feature embedded in the concept of communal participation²⁵.

This is but one aspect of how place identity brought about the expression of legal place and thus sustained the civic identity in ancient Dreros. In this case, civic identity was rooted in the general identity of place offered by the Apollo Delphinios temple, where the cult of Apollo embraced the citizenry. Also, embedded in this cultic membership, place identity was promoted for the citizens, that is, people's participation in this particular civic cult characterized them as citizens, both by themselves and everybody else. This place identity (among others, obviously) allowed the citizenry to develop the legal place of Dreros that again sustained the place identity from various civic and religious places, which were attached to the very essence of being and becoming a citizen in Dreros. The concrete expressions of legal place (in this case the extant laws) worked on a heavy symbolism while the public decisions were published on the walls of the place that provided the citizens with place identity. The comprehension of legal place in 7th century Dreros was thus communal and inclusive as far as our material allows us to conclude. The laws explicitly stated that those belonging to the communal membership of the *polis* were *citizens* – the *polis* for the *poliatai*. They were also communal members of the civic cult, the θυσταί, and finally, members of *pylai*, as *potential soldiers*.

Gortyn

When we turn to Gortyn in the age of the Code, that is, the mid-5th century BCE, legal place and civic identity are expressed differently from what is seen in Dreros two centuries prior to this. Obviously, taking the nature of the evidence into consideration, we cannot generalize about the headings of the inscriptions, though a point should be made about the Code. If I am right, as I have previously argued, that the Law Code is a literal transcription of previous legislation, none of the provisions of re-inscribed legislation emphasize the act of decision-making by the Gortynians²⁶. Contrary to this, the act of decision-making is emphasized in more

²⁵ van Effenterre 1946, no. 4; See Bruit Zaidman – Schmitt Pantel 1992, 34–36.

²⁶ See Kristensen 2004.

precarious cases, like the Rhittanian treaty²⁷, and the granting of citizenship to Dionysios²⁸. This is also the case for the public donation of the land in Keskora and Pala to the citizenry²⁹ as well as the case in the law that offered protection for the evasive *apeleutheroi*³⁰. As it is evident, we do not know whether the citizens of Dreros published their laws on other buildings or as free-standing inscriptions, but as far as we can discern the Gortynians used a range of sites for their laws. The 6th century evidence seems to have been inscribed on the Apollo Pythios temple and possibly also on another building in the vicinity of this temple³¹. It is also clear that in the 5th century some material was inscribed on the walls of and at the Apollo Pythios temple³². Precisely when and where the reproduced material we know from the Code was originally displayed remains unknown. However, since the late 6th century and early 5th century, material, too, was used in the Roman Odeon, it is likely that the public inscriptions were scattered over the civic place. Additionally, we may assume that the inscriptions of the Roman Odeon (in particular the Code and the inscriptions of the so-called Northern and Eastern Walls) were not moved far from their original site. What appears from this are legal inscriptions scattered over the core of the civic center, the central sanctuaries and the *agora*. The Gortynians did not need to emphasize in writing that they belonged together as a civic entity, as the display of laws did this for them. The physical places were invested with place identity from many sources (the citizenry themselves, other members of society, and of course any outsider visiting Gortyn). For the citizens, these places also held place identity that again supported the ongoing development of legal place.

The Gortynians were preoccupied with defining their legal place in two respects. On the one hand, they defined their legal place in relation to outsiders who were naturalised individuals, people included by terms in treaties with other communities, *ksenoi*, and various outsiders who were permitted to temporarily or permanently stay in Gortyn. On the other hand, the Gortynians defined their legal place in respect to alienated people that were legally immature: women and children as well as free people without civic rights, the *apetairoi*, and, of course, the dependent population (that is, those who either were referred to as *woikees* or *dol-*

²⁷ IC IV 80.

²⁸ IC IV 64.

²⁹ IC IV 43B.

³⁰ IC IV 78. We have the first lines of a few additional inscriptions, apart from the Code; there are IC IV 22B, 43Aa, Ab, Bb, but these four laws do not contain an enactment formula or an invocation of the Gods. The text of IC IV 76B commences in the badly preserved IC IV 76A, while in the second line of the fragmentary IC IV 62 οἱ Γο[ρ]τύνιοι could be restored. In IC IV 65 there is room for the deciding authority at the lost left hand side of the inscription.

³¹ Contrary to common opinion, Perlman 2002, 214 n. 129 takes also IC IV 36 and IC IV 37 as belonging to the Pythion because of the Archaic letterforms.

³² These are IC IV 68, 69, 78, 79, 89, 105.

oi). To some degree, these different groups of people shared the fate of being passive members of the Gortynian legal place. However, we need to distinguish between them. Children (of course only the boys) became adults at some point and were then amongst those who defined the legal place, while women in some though extraordinary situations could act in their own right³³. In this way they could work as (passive) agents of the legal place. Obviously legislation that dealt with women and children had the primary purpose of protecting property, clarifying who had the right to do what with a piece of property, and commonly women needed legal and political representation, as did children.

Considering the dependent population of Gortyn, it becomes clear that the polarity of free versus dependent is stressed elegantly and forcefully, underpinning the civic identity within the legal sphere. Dependent laborers are continuously presented as lower status, though with the same basic rights of family, property, and personal integrity as the free population, the citizens³⁴. Members of the dependent population were included in the legal place of the Gortynians, but only in a passive sense. They enjoyed rights and privileges, which were granted by those who defined the legal place, as well as the fact that the dependent population was never in a position to influence the development of the legal place. Although a member of the dependent population was protected by the legislation, he or she was in need of legal representation offered by his or her master, the *pastas*³⁵. Needless to point out, there appears to have been no way to bypass the *pastas* if he did not act on behalf of his servant. The *pastas* could influence the legal place whenever he appeared as litigant on behalf of a member of the dependent population, but his servant could not. One group of people suffered the fate of being in (and out), and perhaps in again, in the legal place. These were the people in debt bondage, the *katakeimeno*i, i.e. only those who initially belonged to the citizenry, of course. The Gortynians practiced debt bondage where the *katakeimenos* could either be a free person, a citizen, or a member of the dependent population. While the legislation offered the protection of legal rights for a *katakeimenos*, if, for example, he was

33 Women could act in their own right in their capacity as mothers, or wives in respect to their property, provided that their *kyrios* had trespassed on their property (IC IV 72, VI, lines 9–24), or on a temporary basis during divorce proceedings (IC IV 72, III, lines 5–12; IC IV 72, XI, lines 46–55), as well as in the case that an heiress inherited an indebted estate from her father (IC IV 72, IX, lines 1–24). See also my discussions of *kyrieia* in Gortyn, Kristensen 1994; Kristensen 2007.

34 See for example IC IV 72, II, lines 2–10 (on rape), lines 20–25 (on seduction). The law in IC IV 72, III, lines 40–44 corresponds to these laws for the free citizen population IC IV 72, II, line 45–III, line 16 (divorce), and III, lines 17–37 (death of one spouse). Property was distinguished and protected, see IC IV 72, IV, lines 32–34 where exemptions from the sons' inheritance are listed, as some property belonging to the dependent population of the estate. However, see for example Link 1994, 39–41 who considers this property as a kind of peculium.

35 Lévy 1997, 33–35 suggests that members of the dependent population could initiate legal proceedings against each other. However, the fact that a dependent person in some cases was offered preference in oath is similar to the extraordinary right of women.

assaulted by a third party, it is evident that debt bondage in Gortyn was simply considered a temporary condition. A citizen would regain his rights, and could instigate legal proceedings after his return to the citizenry if his temporary master (the *katathemenos*) had not acted on his behalf. A member of the dependent population would return to his original master (the *pastas*). Yet it should be noted that the master of a person in debt bondage was always referred to as a *katathemenos*, that is, he who received (the pledge), and never as a *pastas*. In Gortyn, the definition of legal place was clear-cut and the system rather flexible. Civic identity was, among other things, defined on the basis of access to and control of legal place. If we turn our attention to IC IV 75B, we learn about the items that make up the symbol of civic identity in Gortyn: the farmer, the soldier, the political man and including, of course, the continuity of the citizenry. This inscription lists various items (weapons for warfare, garments, footwear, various items for wool work, weaving, metallurgic work, and agriculture, especially what appertains to crops of wheat or barley, additionally also what appears to be the contributions received from the leader of the *andreion* as well as the matrimonial bed, and then the text is interrupted with something belonging to a free man). It is assumed that the list states items that a creditor could not seize as a pledge³⁶.

The Gortynian citizens were divided into different subcategories. One was the *pyla* or *startós* as it is referred to in a military sense in Classical Gortyn. Tribal membership was one prerequisite for citizenship, as the college of *kosmoi* rotated amongst the *pylai*. However, the *pyla* is best known from the legislation concerning the heiress, from which we learn that an heiress (and thus we may assume this applied to all free women) was a (passive) member of her paternal *pyla*. We can also infer from the same legislation that women were usually not obliged to marry into their paternal *pyla*. The maternal *pyla* only mattered in the odd case where there was no (legal) father, and thus no paternal *pyla*. This could come about if a man had denounced a child at birth, but the divorced mother chose to rear the child. Another situation where there was no legal father concerned the offspring of a mixed marriage between a dependent laborer and a free woman. The only way in which children with no paternal *pyla* could be part of the executive power of the legal place was through adoption, as was the case for any outsider's access to an active membership in the legal place in Gortyn.

Civic identity was also defined through the membership of the *hetaireia* as we learn from the law on adoption within the Law Code where adoption is followed by obligatory offerings in the *hetaireia*. The existence of the *apetairoi* is negative evidence for the importance of the *hetaireia* for the civic identity. Although they seldom appear in the material, there is no doubt that they ranged below the citi-

³⁶ From this follows that the *πλάν* in line three should be understood as “in addition to the exemption.” See IC IV 75B.

zens and that only men were *apetairoi*³⁷. Yet citizens in Gortyn were not (as far as we know) referred to as *hetairoi*, and rarely as those who were citizens (as derivations of πολιτεύειν). Most frequently citizens were referred to as *dromeis*³⁸. This suggests that place identity emphasized the civic identity – citizens were those who had access to the *drómos*.

Finally, we need to consider the *andreion*, for which the epigraphic evidence is sparse. There are a few occurrences of *andreia*, but basically they appear without context, of course apart from the famous Spensithios decree in which we learn that the *poinikastas* was obliged to contribute to the *andreion*³⁹. This is contrary to the circumstances in Gortyn where the leader of the *andreion* distributed (or perhaps redistributed) goods to the members of the *andreion*⁴⁰. The elusive city of Spensithios, the *polis* of the Dataleis, is not Gortyn⁴¹.

A Comment on Eltynia

Half a century prior to the approximate date of the erection of the Code in Gortyn, the people of Eltynia had put up a law concerning a situation where someone started a fist fight at various places within the civic space⁴², and the fine depended upon whether or not blood had been shed.

We get the impression that, in the first place, the law addressed young people of the same age, whereas further in the text we learn of an adult hitting a child followed by the situation where an *agēlaos* insults a child. For the present I shall only comment on the places where this could take place according to the sixth line

³⁷ Compare αἱ δὲ κα τὰν τῷ ἀπεταίρῳ (IC IV 72, II, lines 24–25) with the parallel accusative τὰν ἐλευθέραν (IC IV 72, II, line 20), and the fact that there are the feminine forms: ἐλευθέρα, φοικέα, δόλα, but none of the ἀπεταίρος.

³⁸ There are, however, numerous cases where citizens were referred to as ἐλευθέροι, free persons. This we find in contexts where the polarity of free versus unfree is emphasised, i.e. in legislation with different sizes in fines and/or times limits, requirements of witnesses, etc. See for example the four laws on rape and seduction in the Code (IC IV 72, II, lines 2–45), the law on illegal seizure (IC IV 72, I, line 2–II, line 2), the rules among other things for compensation for theft from a dependent labourer (IC IV 43Ab).

³⁹ van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, no. 22B, lines 11–12. (δίκαια ἐς ἀνδρήιον δώσει δέκα πέλερως κρέων, “as lawful dues to the *andreion* he shall give ten axes (weight) of dressed meat”), translation by Jeffery – Morpurgo-Davies 1970.

⁴⁰ For the present I avoid the problem whether the καρποδοῖσται of IC IV 77B are in any way related to *andreia*.

⁴¹ Not to mention all the extraordinary things related to the Spensithios decree, which is not corroborated in the Gortynian evidence.

⁴² IC I, x 2. The letterforms suggest a date of about 500 BCE, see van Effenterre – Ruzé 1995, no. 80. The inscription was found in 1918, as a chance find, at Kounavi south of Knossos.

of the text⁴³. In our text, the places are phrased in abstract and general terms, and we can infer that citizens in Eltynia, as adults, had access to an *andreion*, as *agelai* to an *agela*. However, in order to ban assaults that had taken place in the *andreion*, for example, there had to have been a physical *andreion* as well as an *agela*. Or it is so that we can be certain that the *andreion* was a strict physical place, a roofed building or an enclosure, etc., and likewise for the *agela*. This example in Eltynia cannot prove that, and neither can the Gortynian evidence. It is possible that the *andreion* became a physical place only when its members were gathered together. Although we can combine the literature about the *andreia* and *hetaireia*, etc. with the epigraphic evidence, there are serious problems and they are all embedded in the Cretan Mirage. Aristotle comments in detail on the *andreia* in order to give the Cretan institution preference over the Spartan version⁴⁴. Dosiadas calls them *hetaireiai*, emphasizing their very rigid structure, but the *hetaireia* we know most about, the Gortynian, was clearly a fictive kinship group, and apparently they did not dine together at all times. The *hetaireia* in Gortyn was not a physical place, but a mental society at a mental place. Similarly, the *pyla* in Gortyn and in Dreros were a mental, non-physical place that became physical only when the *pyla* members were gathered either to make public decisions or to find a husband for an heiress, as they evidently did in Gortyn.

Concluding Remarks

There were places that existed physically: the sanctuaries, the *agora* or other public buildings, to mention a few. People invested collective memories and symbolism in these. Certain people gained identity from these places as the place identity invested there. This is not different from the place identity of the *pyla*, the *hetaireia* or even the *andreion*, even if the *andreion* was not a physical place but simply a (mental) substructure of the organization of the citizen population. Membership created place identity, and place identity from these institutions was the prerequisite for the establishment and continuous control of the legal place. This was combined with the physical markers of civic identity: the civic and religious monuments and enclosures that carried place identity, which again brought about place identity for those with full access to these places. Civic identity, among other things, was generated on the basis of a spatial comprehension of the civic landscape as well as on the basis of the mental maps constructed by the various institutions of the citizenry, though because of this, civic identity was also created and

43 IC I, x 2, line 6: [–] τον | ἢν ἀνδρηίδι | ἢν ἀγ[έ]λα[ι] | ἢ συν[β]ολήτραι | ἢ π[ι] κοροῖ | ἢ π[ι] νηο……
| η[–].

44 See Arist. Pol. 1272 a13–28; Dosiadas FGrH 458 fr. 2 ap. Ath. 4, 143 a–d.

reiterated through the legal place of the *polis*. This legal place could have different focuses or emphases. In Dreros in the later part of the 7th century, the sparse evidence suggests that the creation of a legal place was directed towards an emphasis on the communal act of decision-making and on the different functions of a citizen. In Gortyn nearly two centuries later, legal place was reiterated in various ways towards outsiders and towards permanent residents of the city. The explicit polarity between the citizens and all others is very apparent. Contrary to the explicit communality of decision-making in the texts from Dreros, the Gortynians of the 5th century expressed their communality physically through the publication of their decisions scattered throughout the civic space and through the reproduction and organization of older laws with new laws.

To by-pass the Cretan Mirage, we are compelled to reconsider our approaches. One of these could be further exploring the potential of cultural geography; in this case, I have suggested applying the identification methodology of the place-space theory and, more concretely, using the concept of legal place. Evidently, I suggest a post-constructive approach to the enigma of Cretan (and Greek) legislation and its relationship to society.

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Stefan Link

“... there shall be no punishment to them.” Observance of Law and Social Integration in Sparta and Crete

How Happy were Cretan Citizens to be Citizens?

As far as I know, this question has never been asked in this way, and therefore I would like to explain my approach: I would like to address the issue of how individual and communal concerns were reconciled in the social order prevalent in the Cretan cities of the 7th and 6th centuries BCE. What offers for integration were made by the community to the individual, how attractive was it for an individual to adapt to collective expectations? Or vice versa – how intrusive were these expectations, how much pressure did Cretan cities have to exert on individual citizens to subordinate their private interests to those of the entire community? To find an answer to such questions it is useful to draw a comparison – in this case, for obvious reasons, with Sparta. Several public institutions and social facilities in Sparta and Crete were so similar (at least in their *external* appearance) that, as is well known, Aristotle had felt compelled to draw a comparison between these two constitutions¹, and also modern research has time and again emphasized the proximity of the two social orders and used it heuristically. I would like to continue in this tradition, though from the vantage point of a new question. To this end, a whole range of very diverse individual examples are available, from which I shall just single out a few. They will show that – in spite of all the resemblances in external appearance – the integration offers presented by society to individuals in Sparta and Crete differed fundamentally. Afterwards, I want to look at the historical basis for these differences and thus seek to shed more light on the genesis of the Cretan social order by using the means of the better-known (and more recently intensive-ly-researched) development of social structures in early Sparta².

I

Let us therefore begin with Sparta and, in particular, – like Xenophon – with the conception of children. As is well known, this presented a problem: Spartans were

Prof. Dr. Stefan Link, Historisches Institut, Universität Paderborn, Warburger Str. 100, 33098 Paderborn, Germany, stefan.link@upb.de

1 Arist. Pol. 1269 a29–1272 b23.

2 Cf. e.g. the (by no means complete) collection by Raaflaub – Wallace 2007, 47 n. 13.

so loath to conceive children that society as a whole was forced to take counter-measures. In one instance the legislator did something which was highly unusual for Sparta: he offered fathers of multiple children the privilege of being released from official duties. In other words, the legislator sought to make it attractive for individuals to comply with socially-required behavior³. For several reasons, this law was not very successful⁴, but it is noteworthy because it was an exception to the usual Spartan norms in general and to parenthood laws in particular. The overall approach of the community was not to enhance the attractiveness of parenthood, but rather to increase psychological pressure on childless people. This means the overall approach was not to integrate common and individual interests, but rather to confront and oppose them; accordingly, individuals experienced the community as a repressive and punishing authority. We know for example that society imposed a maximum age at which young men had to be married – whatever their personal desires might have been. In addition, childless bachelors were socially villainized by being banned from participating in public games; at regular intervals they were subjected to humiliating rituals, and generally they were exposed in public to the mockery of their fellow citizens⁵. It seems quite obvious that the people affected felt these measures were indeed oppressive; in any event they took evasive action. To be able to produce children at the right time, young Spartan men began to marry early or even too early and thus in secret⁶, and many Spartans had joint marriages with the same woman, with each man claiming all children conceived by this woman as his own⁷. Ostentatiously, they could then claim to have fulfilled their legal duties. The underlying rationale of the legislation however was frustrated and the social problem that the law was designed to redress remained unchanged⁸. Collective repression and private evasion obviously went hand in hand and came together to form a very superficial, hollow observance of the law.

Things were quite different in Crete. Here, there is absolutely no indication that there was any lack of offspring or that bachelorhood was a problem. Indeed quite the opposite was true: the population of Cretan cities was constantly growing. Homer had expressed that Crete was famous for its many poleis⁹, and nothing

³ Arist. Pol. 1270 b3 sq.

⁴ Firstly it furthered abuse (cf. Link 2011, 339), and secondly even if this did not occur, it turned out to be counterproductive due to the Spartan inheritance laws; cf. already Arist. Pol. 1270 b4–6; Link 2011, 333–337.

⁵ Plut. Lyc. 15, 1–3; cf. also Plut. Mor. 227–228.

⁶ Obviously this was the basis for the peculiar Spartan marriage customs; cf. the discussion between Schmitz 2002 and Rodemeyer 2003.

⁷ Concerning Polyb. 12, 6 b 8; cf. Link 1994a, 117 f. n. 122.

⁸ Concerning further aspects of the same basic problem (e.g. the far-spread endogamy, the typically Spartan form of abandonment of children and so on) cf. Link 2011, 333–341.

⁹ Hom. Il. 2, 645–649; Hom. Od. 19, 172–174.

changed as time went on¹⁰. This is hardly surprising: both the fact that the young men all got married upon leaving the *agelai*¹¹ and that the legislator – at least in Gortyn – had to restrict adoption¹² show that Cretans were happy to have children and thus comply with social demands. What is the cause for this obvious difference from the situation in Sparta? One reason was apparently the Cretan educational system which actually provided a strong stimulus for fatherhood.

This was due to the prominent role that Cretans assigned to fathers especially with regard to the education of boys – and to the social prestige they attached to this role¹³. Evening after evening fathers appeared together with their sons in the *andreion*, and in all likelihood fathers led the various youth groups in their military exercises¹⁴. The members of each *agela*, 17-year old boys, flocked as “friends” around those boys whose fathers assumed responsibility for the guidance, nourishment and education of the entire group. This last example in particular very clearly shows how unconditionally Cretan education relied on the competitive interests of prominent fathers. The system obviously worked because these socially eminent men competed with each other in regard to fathering and educating their sons and their sons’ “friends” in order to increase the influence of their families and pass it on to the next generation. The better they were at this, the more “friends” rallied around their sons, and accordingly the more young men they educated. In short, this meant that individual and collective interests converged.

The situation was very different in Sparta, where fathers – at least in this social role – were painstakingly excluded from the educational system. Obviously the Spartan view was that officials, rather than fathers, should be primarily responsible for the upbringing of children – such as the *paidonomos*, the most senior education commissioner, whose qualification, according to Xenophon, was that he had to come from the circle of men from whose midst the highest officials were usually elected¹⁵; or such as the *eirenes*, young men, who guided the education of the younger generations in special *syssitia* and who were – as officials – accountable for it¹⁶. Evidently Spartans distrusted socially prominent fathers, while Cretans

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Aristotle’s explanation for the separation of men and women in Crete: he stated that this would have served family-planning (Arist. Pol. 1272 a14–25). A rather certain hint to a growing population number is also the extension of the agricultural area (Koerner 1993, no. 132) or the existence of Cretan mercenaries; cf. Willetts 1955, 246. Furthermore see Chaniotis 1996, 25 f.

¹¹ Ephoros, FGrH 70 fr. 149 ap. Strab. 10, 4, 20.

¹² IC IV 72, IX, lines 6–10; cf. Link 1994b, 57 f.

¹³ As has been stated already by Hoeck 1829, 99–101, and esp. 106; Kirsten 1936, 124.

¹⁴ Concerning Ephoros, FGrH 70 fr. 149 ap. Strab. 10, 4, 16. 20–21. Cf. Link 1999, 3–6; 2009, 90–96.

¹⁵ Xen. Lac. 2, 2.

¹⁶ Plut. Lyc. 18, 6–7. This is even more clarified by the fact that the *eirenes*, young men between 20 and 30 years of age, would usually not have any sons of an age to be educated by them and in public. Thus they could not act as fathers.

placed the upbringing of their youth in their hands. Thus Spartans refrained from integrating the private interests of such prominent fathers in the educational system. One of the consequences was that this system did not provide any incentive for fatherhood; another was that the group of “friends”, with which Spartans were as familiar as Cretans, had an entirely different meaning in Sparta than in Crete. In Sparta these “friends” were the so-called *mothakes*, originating from some lower sociopolitical class; they were chosen by wealthy families to fight alongside their sons, thus undermining the educational ideal of equality¹⁷. At the same time they remained useless for society as such, since these “friends” as a rule never obtained full citizenship. Thus, unlike in Crete, individual and collective interests in the educational system clearly stood in opposition to each other.

Furthermore, the same considerations that apply to the educational system as a whole also apply to the closely connected system of pederasty. It seems that Spartans were very suspicious of such old-style aristocratic partnerships and so they banned them entirely, at least from the official education; not a single institution of the state-organized Spartan educational system was based on the pederastic relationship between an adult man and a boy¹⁸, and whenever such relationships became apparent, they typically played their prominent role not within, but apart from, or even in opposition to the official educational system. Just like the “friends”, the patronage and nepotism involved served above all to undermine the strict idea of equality for everyone, which was the aim of Spartan education.

In Crete the situation was quite different. Pederasty was widespread there as well, but not in opposition to communal education. On the contrary, we know that it was very institutionalized and became a core element of communal upbringing and the recruitment of new generations of citizens¹⁹. In a nutshell, Cretans did not simply content themselves to integrate prominent citizens as fathers into the educational system, but expected them also to increase their prestige as lovers, and it is quite apparent that these citizens were eager to grasp this opportunity to enhance their agonal image. Again, Cretans brought different interests together, while Spartans forced them to confront each other.

But the institution that played the most seminal role in reconciling individual and collective needs was neither education nor pederasty, but the system of *syssitia*, the communal meal system²⁰, and here too the fundamental structures differed in at least two essential aspects. Firstly, in Sparta the meal companions – about

¹⁷ Concerning Jean Ducat’s diverging opinion on the *mothakes*: Ducat 2006, 171; cf. Link 2011, 365 f. n. 146.

¹⁸ On all this see Link 1999, 13–22; 2009, 96–103.

¹⁹ Concerning the description of Ephoros, FGrH 70 fr. 149 ap. Strab. 10, 4, 21, cf. Hoeck 1829, 109; see also Link 1999, 13–15; 2009, 97 f., as well as lately Seelentag 2009a.

²⁰ Ephoros already stated that this was at the core of all the Cretan state-institutions: Ephoros, FGrH 70 fr. 149 ap. Strab. 10, 4, 16.

15 men per syssition – gathered in small meal houses that were strictly segregated. In Crete, on the other hand, the entire citizenry is said to have dined together in some central building, though at separate tables. And secondly, Spartans were obliged to contribute a fixed amount of their yields per person, while Cretans had to pay – in addition to certain public funds – a contribution consisting of a percentage of their income.

The impact of these differences on the entire character of the institution, and thus on its acceptance among the citizens, must have been enormous. Since membership, in both Sparta and Crete, was a prerequisite for gaining and preserving citizenship rights, the Spartan system tended to exclude Spartiates from their citizenry²¹. Those who were not able to contribute the fixed monthly amounts were thrown out²². In view of this, many Spartans were apparently very much opposed to their own system of communal meals. Stephen Hodkinson, the foremost expert on Sparta, recently referred to meal companions as being “desperate to avoid falling to inferior status”²³.

The Cretan system of communal meals did not produce such groups of desperate individuals. On the contrary: due to the fact that the cities provided public funds to meal companions²⁴ – funds that these companions would contribute to the *andreion*²⁵ – and in particular, the fact that a contribution of 10% of a member's own income instead of a fixed amount was required²⁶, the Cretan communal meal system had traits of a general welfare institution for the benefit of the entire citizenry. Here wealthy citizens provided for their poorer fellow citizens and helped them preserve their citizen status²⁷. So in contrast to Sparta, the Cretan communal meal system was integrative, not exclusive. And it was also an attractive proposition! As the quantity and quality of the food served at the individual tables must have depended essentially on the contributions made by the socially-prominent meal companions, and because the communal meals took place in public, the quantity and quality of meals served at “their” tables provided a prime opportunity for prominent families to cultivate their image as they vied for social prestige and influence. This simply must have made them all the more keen to contribute²⁸. So the factors

²¹ Already Aristotle criticised this: Arist. Pol. 1271 a33–37.

²² This meant that these citizens would degenerate into so-called *hypomeiones*, “minors”, and as such they would probably also become candidates for future expulsion; cf. Hodkinson 2009b, 435.

²³ Hodkinson 2009, 436.

²⁴ Concerning Arist. Pol. 1272 a12–21; cf. Link 1994b, 12.

²⁵ Thus at least in Lyktos; cf. the following note.

²⁶ Thus exemplified by Dosiadas, FGrH 458 fr. 2 ap. Ath. 4, 143 a–b; cf. Link 1994b, 12–13. Several times Paula Perlman has criticized the idea of a general Cretan political order: Perlman 1992; Perlman 2005. However, the counter-arguments, which are not yet disproved, can be found in Chaniotis 2005, 177 f.; Link 2002; 2008b.

²⁷ As has been emphasized several times already; cf. e.g. Willetts 1955, 243.

²⁸ In detail cf. Link 1994b, 16–21; Gehrke 1997, 39.

previously mentioned relating to having children, education and pederasty also apply here: the social system of the Cretan cities was designed to make prominent families eagerly compete with each other for the opportunity to contribute as *euergetai* to the public benefit. The lawmaker simply had to ensure that this integrative system worked properly – this is surely the context in which we have to see the “fruit-dividers” of the famous Gortyn law²⁹. But he was not faced with the task of permanently overcoming a fundamental discrepancy between private and public interests, as happened in Sparta. Several testimonies indicate that Spartan meal companions tended to “play truant” at the *syssitia* and in this way avoid their civic duties rooted in the communal meal. With corresponding strictness, the community monitored their attendance³⁰. There is no indication that similar compulsion was exerted in Crete. The citizens of the Cretan cities seem to have enjoyed eating, drinking and sitting at the *andreion*.

Once these fundamentally opposing features in the essential areas of communal life have become clear, it is easy to find other examples in less central areas, e.g. in inheritance law or in the control of serfs. Two other points, however, seem to be even more pertinent: the assumption of public offices and dealing with luxury. I shall treat them in this order.

The most important communal offices were just another honor the most prominent families in Crete competed for, as is shown by the so-called iteration bans³¹ and the rotation principle³²: To enable each eligible citizen to serve a term of office, compulsory waiting periods were set to ensure that they would get an opportunity to do so – hence the “iteration bans.” And since this apparently caused entire families to pass offices from one member to the next, from brother to brother-in-law and so forth, the rotation principle was introduced. This meant that in principle not only the actual incumbent but his entire family, even his entire *startos*, was precluded from serving for several years³³. In this way, the restrictions interfered deeply with the free play of social forces.

This is how all modern academics have viewed these laws up to now³⁴. However, if we look at them from a Spartan perspective, it is less the restrictive charac-

²⁹ Koerner 1993, no. 152. Also the reform of the female property rights as stated in the great law-code of Gortyn can be seen in this context; cf. Link 1994b, 79–96; 1998b, 214–234; 2003a.

³⁰ A close monitoring can e.g. be deduced from the very precisely specified excuses: those who were out hunting or making a sacrifice were allowed to be absent; however they had to share their prey or the sacrificial animal with their messmates: Xen. Lac. 5, 3. The same idea – everybody had to be present – can also be seen in the story of king Agis II: he insisted on his royal right to dine at home – a right that was traditionally his, which his messmates however denied him. Concerning Plut. Lyc. 12, 3: cf. Link 2011, 346.

³¹ These “iteration bans” are in fact retention periods to avoid the repeated exertion of the same office for a certain time. Cf. Koerner 1993, no. 90 (Dreros); no. 121 (Gortyn).

³² Also see Link 1994b, 100–103. 108–110; Chaniotis 2005, 180.

³³ Cf. Link 1994b, 125 n. 18.

³⁴ Cf. e.g. Koerner 1993, 335 f.; Link, 1994b. – In spite of his different understanding of this law in general, Gunnar Seelentag also emphasizes its restrictive nature: Seelentag 2009b, 76.

ter that stands out but the fact that in the Cretan towns a second term of office was possible at all! This is a fundamental difference with the Spartan system, where citizens could serve only once in the ephorate, the only noteworthy annually rotating office³⁵. And it is easy to see what impact this difference had on the officials: for a Cretan official it must have been tempting to exercise his office in such a manner that he would be re-elected in later years³⁶. Thus the possibility to be re-elected presented a certain guarantee for the community that the official would exercise his office in a manner which was in line with communal interests. A Spartan ephor, on the other hand, knew from the start that he had no way of returning to office once his term had ended. The ephors' interests were correspondingly short-lived, and perhaps Aristotle's criticism that they were notoriously corrupt reflects among other things their reaction to the lack of future perspectives.

Turning to our second point, luxury, we find a rather clear-cut picture on the Spartan side: the communal ideology repressed it. This can be seen nearly everywhere, e.g. in the Spartans' clothing³⁷, their funeral practices³⁸, their domestic architecture³⁹, their private ownership of precious metals (especially money)⁴⁰, or anywhere else⁴¹. Agesilaos II and his son Archidamos even tried to exploit this social prejudice, condemning horse breeding as somehow anti-Lycourgan when some of the well-to-do families threatened to take precedence over them in this discipline⁴². Private wealth was thought to be offensive, anti-Lycourgan, and therefore un-Spartan.

In consequence wealthy Spartans tended to hide their fortunes – in whatever way they could. Some of them simply hid it under the roofs of their houses, as Gylippos did⁴³, and consequently his fellow citizens searched the attics⁴⁴. Others, as mentioned in Xenophon's descriptions, transferred it to their country houses⁴⁵, or left it abroad with a guest-friend or in the custody of a temple⁴⁶. Furthermore there were those Spartans who invested their money in Spartan estates and studs,

³⁵ Cf. e.g. Link 1994a, 68.

³⁶ Concerning Arist. Pol. 1272 a33 sq.; cf. Link 1994b, 100–105; however see also Gehrke 1997, 56 n. 164. 59 f.

³⁷ Cf. Thuc. 1, 6, 4.

³⁸ Cf. also Link 2011, 347 f.

³⁹ Cf. Link 2000, 77–85.

⁴⁰ This, however, was only a short-lived idea. Concerning the Spartan prohibition on money cf. Hodkinson 2000, 170–176.

⁴¹ As in the case of nutrition, for example. Concerning the example of the infamous black broth, cf. Link 2011, 345.

⁴² Xen. Ages. 9, 6; Isocr. 6, 55. On both see Hodkinson 1989, 99; Hodkinson 2000, 326 f.; 2009b, 452 f.

⁴³ Plut. Lys. 16; cf. Hodkinson 2000, 155 f. 165–167.

⁴⁴ See also Xen. Lac. 7, 6.

⁴⁵ Concerning Xen. Hell. 6, 5, 27. 30: see Hodkinson 2000, 154.

⁴⁶ Ath. 6, 233 e–234 e.

but had their horses run and win in Olympia, and it was also there that they erected statues of honor for themselves⁴⁷. Whichever way they chose – in any case they withdrew their wealth and themselves from Spartan society with this shallow compliance with the law.

In Crete, on the contrary, private luxury was not scorned at, but honored and even required by law. For example, the presents that a Cretan lover was expected to give to his beloved by custom and law are said to have been so precious that even the lover's friends contributed⁴⁸. This example alone can clarify why luxury could hardly be offensive at all: Having integrated the ambition for social power and respect into the common welfare, the Cretan order also took hold of the rich Cretans' fortunes. The presents mentioned served to introduce the next generation into citizenry. They were a means of self-recruiting society and thus this form of private luxury appears to be highly functional.

All in all, Cretan luxuries served the Cretan citizenry. As a consequence they took to forms which can hardly be found in our archaeological sources. Thus it is perfectly possible to explain why the archaeological findings for whole centuries may seem as meager as those from Sparta: Private luxury expresses itself in the form of plenty or better food for the *hetairoi* of one's own table, in the form of numerous "friends" of one's own son, in the form of more wild goats hunted in the mountains for the beloved and his "friends", in the form of a costly ornamented coat for the former beloved and so on – lots of fortunes of which only the literary tradition can know.

The diverging opinions on luxury can also be exemplified by looking at the Olympic victors, especially during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. The Spartans gained most of the victories in the discipline of chariot racing (all in all 14 victories according to Moretti) – and this even though Spartans did not know anything about horses officially. Even their *hippeis* were only so-called *hippeis*, in fact they were not mounted. Therefore the special kind of Spartan victory in Olympia, based on the expensive hobby of horse breeding, reveals nothing but the degree of social dis-integration at home. Cretans, on the contrary, though knowing mounted *hippeis*⁴⁹, never won any chariot races, but instead were highly successful at long-distance running⁵⁰. Obviously this sport was quite popular – surely also due to their hunting goats in the mountains, together with their beloved and "friends." In other words, in the end these victories were based on the special kind of Cretan social integration.

To summarize up to this point, in Sparta social order and legislation were not consistently oriented towards the well-being of the community as a whole – as the

⁴⁷ On this cf. Hodkinson 2000, 319 f.; 2009b, 444.

⁴⁸ Ephoros FGrH 70 fr. 149 ap. Strab. 10, 4, 21.

⁴⁹ Cf. Strab. 10, 4, 8.

⁵⁰ Chaniotis 1996, 127 n. 781; Moretti 1957, nos. 274. 296. 367b. 390 plus only one other Cretan victory in the discipline of boxing; Moretti 1957, no. 181.

problem of contributions to the *syssitia* or the rules on taking office demonstrate. And they were characterized by the way they tried to force individuals to behave in a socially adequate manner. Spartan legislation tended to be repressive⁵¹, so accordingly Spartan observance of laws became hollow as the Spartans' behavior shows very clearly – as meal companions, as husbands, fathers and lovers or their dealings with luxuries. In Crete on the other hand, social order and legislation appear to have been largely oriented towards the welfare of the citizenry as a whole, and they also tended to invite citizens (successfully) to comply with the required behavior, and thus integrate private and public interests⁵².

II

If we wish to trace the historic roots of these differences, we must first look at the reason for the internal tensions in Sparta. What sparked them off? Which ideal was so compelling that the legislator was time and again willing to impose norms that were in clear contradiction to the interests of the individual citizens?

There was in fact one element that runs almost like a *leitmotif* through all areas outlined here; I shall call it “egalitarian pretension.” Its particularly prominent role in Spartan upbringing has already been discussed: there, it caused the displacement of both fathers and lovers, and with regard to both aspects the community placed itself in opposition to the interests of Sparta's prominent families. But also the other areas of conflict discussed can be traced back to egalitarian pretension. This immediately becomes clear when it comes to the conception of children. In Crete, this was no problem because a large number of offspring provided prominent patriarchs with opportunities which childless men simply did not have. In Sparta, on the other hand, the egalitarian-motivated displacement of prominent families from the educational system (in combination with the disastrous system of contributions to the *syssitia*)

51 On this, see the detailed discussion between Hodkinson 2009b; Hodkinson – Hansen 2009, and Link 2011. – Even if deficient in some details and moreover affected by the *Blut-und-Boden* ideology, Ernst Kirsten tried to grasp this phenomenon as early as 1936: “Der kretischen Form liegt eine πολιτεία zu Grunde, in der τὰ κοινὰ das wesentliche Element bilden, der spartanischen aber eine solche, in der die staatliche Formung, der staatliche Wille entscheidend ist. Die kretische Polis gewährt von sich aus der Gemeinschaft der Bürger den βίος, die spartanische macht die Leistung der Abgabe zur Pflicht. Das läßt auf eine verschiedene Entwicklung schließen.” Kirsten 1936, 136 f.

52 We should therefore carefully avoid any imputation of totalitarianism to Cretan society, such as James Whitley has recently proposed: “The community”, he rightly notes, “seems to have prevailed over the individual.” The conclusion he draws from this, however, seems to be rather far-fetched: “It would be facile to interpret Cretan polis as, in some way, proto-totalitarian, suppressing free movement and free expression, and regulating every detail of a person's [...] course through life [...]” Whitley 2009, 291.

resulted eventually in a dearth of citizens and thus in the additional artificial and repressive stimuli by which the legislator sought to redress this deficiency. It was no different in the sphere of public administration. Cretans opted for the incentive which the possibility of re-election offered to the noble families of their cities, and precisely for this reason they ensured that everyone who participated in this contest would have a fair opportunity. Spartans on the other hand seemed to distrust the powerbases created by a system of repeated terms of office – in particular in the case of members of powerful families – and thus excluded them categorically⁵³. Everywhere there are signs of their distrust of individual citizens and potentially prominent private individuals. As a consequence of this distrust and under the guise of egalitarian pretensions, society took the center stage. In Crete the general feeling seems to have been exactly the opposite, and the *polis*, even when it concerned vital communal interests, always adopted an approach via the private sphere. This is probably best illustrated by the example of public income, which was first distributed to private households – at least in Lyktos – and from there it was contributed to the *andreia* by the individual citizens⁵⁴.

Actually the differences between the respective social ideals become most clearly visible at the level of the communal meals. In Sparta, the communal meal system was clearly characterized by egalitarian pretensions, though on a very elevated level: all members of the *syssitia* were obliged to pay the same amount as the compulsory contribution⁵⁵; everyone had to eat and drink the same food and beverages; everyone had the same voting rights when it came to the acceptance of new *hetairoi* from the next generation⁵⁶; and everyone basically acted in the same way at the communal meal⁵⁷. The overriding nature of this notion of equality as expressed by the *syssitia* is perhaps best illustrated by its census character. If one of the meal companions was no longer able to pay his contribution, Spartans did not forego the dues, instead they did without the companion. In case of conflict, the elitist equality of all meal companions was obviously deemed to be the higher asset⁵⁸.

53 The same holds true for the creative power the offices in Crete and Sparta respectively embraced. In the Cretan cities the *kosmoi* actually determined the course of politics, while the Spartan ephorate appeared as a mere regulatory authority; cf. Link 2008a, 14–16.

54 Dosiadas, FGrH 458 fr. 2 ap. Ath. 4, 143 a.

55 According to Plutarch: one *medimnos* of barley, eight choai of wine, five *minas* of cheese, two-and-a-half *minas* of figs and some money; Plut. Lyc. 12, 3.

56 Plut. Lyc. 12, 9–11; cf. also Xen. Lac. 5, 3 (1); 5, 4.

57 That is they taught the younger men norms and customs of Spartan behavior – in contrast to other forms of Greek symposia the Spartan *syssitia*, just as the Homeric feasts, included men of all ages; Xen. Lac. 5, 5–6. They also tried to get rid of the boys who stole food in the men's *syssitia*; Plut. Lyc. 17, 5. And finally they showed off sharing their prey and sacrificial meat with their mess-mates; Xen. Lac. 5, 3.

58 Not only did the *syssitia* coin egalitarian ideas, but they also embraced an aristocratic component. Concerning my question, however, this objection is meaningless. Cf. Link 1998a; Link 2011, 344 f.

The approach of the Cretan communal meal system was fundamentally different. There the emphasis was very obviously on allowing everyone to participate – in the absence of any egalitarian pretensions. As has often been reported⁵⁹, the Cretan *poleis* quite naturally developed communities with such hierarchical structures that no one had any reservations about entrusting the most important civic tasks to prominent citizens. For them equality was not an ideal, and a conflict with private interests, as reflected by the most important Spartan institutions, remained totally alien to them.

This also provides a historical explanation for a phenomenon which so far we have only described. Our question should be: in which context did egalitarian pretensions take hold of Sparta? When did Sparta experience its “egalitarian surge”?

The answer is arguably that Sparta experienced this surge very early on, in the days of the Messenian Wars⁶⁰, and as a result of the demands made by the common people. Tyrtaios, the highly conservative poet of the Second Messenian War, speaks of “men from the commons” who he feared would advise the city some “crooked counsel”, and he called on them with fervor to abstain from that⁶¹. The content of their “crooked counsel” is reported by Aristotle as follows: they were concerned with the redistribution of the Laconian lands⁶² – apparently many Spartans felt threatened by the growing estates of big landowners. Tyrtaios and his peers deflected their demands successfully. In Messenia, rather than in Laconia, land would be available for distribution among everyone – once it had been conquered⁶³.

And the Spartans were successful in their venture. By means of the phalanx formation, so vehemently recommended by Tyrtaios⁶⁴, they conquered the entire Messenian territory beyond the Taygetos mountain range, divided its fertile lands among themselves and forced the Messenians to pay regular tributes. As new lords they developed an ideal image of themselves that was both aristocratic and egalitarian⁶⁵. Victorious as phalangites and rich as a result, they were now all equally able to afford the aristocratic lifestyle of old. And how proud they were of it! This

59 Cf. e.g. the title of Willetts first monograph on Crete: *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete*; Willetts 1955; cf. also Kirsten 1936, 168 f.

60 Cf. e.g. Raaflaub – Wallace 2007, 36 f.

61 These “men of the people” were most probably precursors of the ephors. Concerning Tyrtaios. fr. 14 W; cf. Link 2000, 19–30; on Tyrtaios’ attempts to persuade the people cf. Link 2003b. Andreas Luther presented the same conclusion – Tyrtaios knew the ephors or their precursors already –, although he followed a completely different line of argument: Luther 2006, 84 f.

62 On Arist. Pol. 1306 b37–39; cf. Link 1991, 95; Link 2000, 29 f. n. 107.

63 Tyrtaios. fr. 4, line 3.

64 Phalanx-fighting: Tyrtaios. fr. 8; integration of unwilling aristocrats: Tyrtaios. fr. 9.

65 On this see also Raaflaub – Wallace 2007, 41: “Collectively, at the expense of the helots’ slavery (Plut. Lyc. 28, 11), the Spartiates enjoyed the freedom, privileges, and values typically associated with aristocracy in Greece (Plut. Lyc. 31, 1).”

is clearly reflected by the name they gave themselves: *homoioi*, “equals” – equals as soldiers in war, and equals as meal companions in peace⁶⁶.

Of course it was only a pseudo-aristocratic equality that the Spartans established⁶⁷ and it was correspondingly fragile, founded as it was on nothing else but the equal share of the Messenian booty that was distributed to everyone. But the more fragile it was, the more emphatically the community of pseudo-aristocratic *homoioi* had to ensure that no one broke ranks. Anything that did not fit into the egalitarian order had to be suppressed, including aristocratic pretensions that came about for any other reason than as a result of the spoils of the Messenian victory⁶⁸. Behavioral patterns motivated by powerbase politics as traditionally practiced by the aristocratic families of old⁶⁹ now appeared to be totally out of place. So instead of powerful individuals, the communal order with its egalitarian pretensions stepped in (e.g. in the guise of a tenured *eirene* or *ephoros*). In other words, it seems that this egalitarian surge was the beginning and the cause of a development which ended up irreconcilably opposing public order and private interests. In the final instance the discordant juxtaposition of the two areas was a result of the victory over the Messenians.

Against this background it becomes quite clear why Cretan cities were not affected by such discordant opposition. During their most formative period, which they experienced – like Sparta – in the 7th and 6th century BCE⁷⁰ they had no “wide Messenia.” They had not conquered land to a comparable extent, which they could distribute among their people, nor were they ever faced with the task of securing such land on the other side of the mountains. After all, Cretan serfs did not live beyond the mountains but around the cities of their lords – which is why Aristotle called them *peri-oikoi*, “dwellers around.” Unlike Spartans, Cretans were not locked in permanent war with their serfs⁷¹, and the phalanx formation did not have the same significance in Crete as it did in Sparta. Certainly, Cretans were famous fighters, feared pirates and sought-after mercenaries, but they were no phalangites. On the contrary, they were considered to be very poor at phalanx fighting⁷². They were appreciated as lightly-armed soldiers,

66 They probably took this term from Homer, who called his heroes thus (opposed to other people whom he regarded and named as “unequal”); on this see Link 2000, 113 f. with n. 413.

67 As can be seen regarding the strictly ordered new regiment; on this see Link 2000, 112.

68 Cf. once again Tyrtaeus fr. 9.

69 Cf. e.g. the increasing integration of the aristocrats into the common order, as best documented in the case of the two kings; on that see Link 2000, 58–77.

70 On Crete cf. Chaniotis 2005, 175.

71 On all that, see Link 2000, 45–58. Luraghi’s interpretation of helotry as not originating from military force seems to be weak especially since it cannot explain one particular phenomenon: the annual declaration of war; cf. e.g. Luraghi 2001; Luraghi 2002a; Luraghi 2002b; Luraghi 2003. Similar ideas were postulated earlier on by Figueira 1999, 211–244.

72 Pl. Leg. 625 c–d; Polyb. 4, 8; cf. also Whitley 2009, 285: “It is odd that no shield turned up in the Afrati deposit, and no bronze shield has been traced to Crete. A more “open” style of warfare

guerrilla warriors, trappers, running messengers and in particular as sling fighters and archers⁷³.

However, without the exceptional significance of the phalanx and the experience of equality with long-established aristocrats, they not only lacked the sense of fundamental *homoiotês*⁷⁴ that broke ground in Sparta during the Messenian Wars⁷⁵, but also any idea about an old-style aristocratic character of the citizenry as such. Cretans certainly considered themselves to be the masters of their serfs –

than the hoplite phalanx, perhaps requiring a clearer vision than the Corinthian helmet allows, might also explain the absence of a nose-piece on the Cretan helmet.”

73 Cf. e.g. Diod. Sic. 15, 82, 6 (runners); Xen. An. 1, 2, 9; Xen. Hell. 4, 2, 16; Pl. Leg. 438 d as well as Diod. Sic. 5, 74, 5; 17, 57, 4; 20, 85, 3 (archers); cf. also e.g. Kirsten 1936, 19 f.; Willetts 1955, 246–249.

74 On this see e.g. Raaflaub – Wallace 2007, 35.

75 However, we have to single out one exception: the equal voting rights of all citizens within the citizens’ assembly. Gehrke 1997, 60, understands this to be an egalitarian element: “Jedenfalls waren die kretischen Ordnungen auf die gleichberechtigte Mitbestimmung der freien Politen – die ihrerseits eine Herrschicht bildeten – gegründet. Diese gab aber dem aristokratischen Rang- und Ehrdenken hinreichend Raum und verlieh den Adligen großes politisches Gewicht.” Knowing of the Cretan *clientelae*, it becomes quite clear that the second statement, emphasising the importance of the aristocrats, is closer to the truth. Therefore the model of the “middling man” and his “Principle of Equal Consideration of Interests” as well as the “Strong Principle of Equality” that Ian Morris proposed seems to be much more appropriate; cf. e.g. Morris 2000, 111 f.: “This (Principle of Equal Consideration) affords each citizen equal respect and a right to be heard, but reserves the possibility that some citizens may know what is in everyone’s best interest, and may be qualified to make the decisions for all. ... The Strong Principle of Equality is not a synonym for democracy. ... The most important cultural category was the *metrios* or *mesos*, the “middling man.” Such a man was supposed to be moderate, restrained, respectable, and pious. Men who went beyond this role took risks. If their actions were construed as expanding their honor at the expense of others, they faced disapproval or even legal penalties.” Cf. also the collection of examples he took from Athenian sources only, Morris 2000, 115: “By *hoi mesoi*, “those in the middle”, Athenians did not mean a “middle class” in an economic or occupational sense. The *metrioi* were defined primarily through their attitudes, which determined how they would use their wealth. Any *metrios* who had sufficient means had no cause to still pursue more wealth (Din. 3, 18). The *metrios* possessed *aischune*, self-respect (Aeschin. 3, 11), which brought his appetites under control. He exercised restraint in sexual matters (e.g., Aeschin. 1, 42; Dem. 54, 17) and drinking (Dem. 54, 15) as well as in spending, quietly minding his own affairs (Hyp. 4, 21), doing good for family and community alike (Din. 2, 8).” See also p. 138: “Most writers agreed that so long as a rich man showed he shared the values of *metrioi*, then his wealth was his own business (e.g., Xen. Mem. 2, 4, 6; Xen. Mem. 3, 4, 12; Lys. 16, 9–12; Isoc. 15, 276–285; Dem. 20, 24; 21, 210; 23, 246; 58, 65; Arist. Pol. 1256 a1–1259 b22). The best way to demonstrate a middling mentality was by sharing wealth with the people. As part of their *philia*, all citizens should feel *charis*, a sense of appreciation, toward one another. The rich man should express this through gifts to the polis.” These conclusions can be transferred onto the Cretan society in every detail. Cf. also Morris 2000, 116: “The philosophy of the *metrios* was a useful democratic fiction, a structuring principle guiding behavior.” As the postulated structures also applied to the aristocratic Cretan society, one might question the strong connection between these structures and Athenian democracy (such as Morris sometimes seems to suggest): obviously the very same structure could also back up and strengthen aristocratic regimes.

here we should mention in passing the well-known “Song of Hybrias”⁷⁶ – but does that necessarily mean that they considered themselves to be aristocrats⁷⁷? Hardly⁷⁸ – the notion of an old-style Homeric *homoiotês* of all aristocratic heroes did not characterize a Cretan citizenry. No, it was a different feature which developed here, and this one too represents a further development of ideas already familiar to Homer: the link between the rule of a good king and the welfare of his people. To quote Kurt Raaflaub and Robert Wallace: “The value system reflected in the epics ... underscores the importance of the community. Although no one questions the *basileis*’ status as leaders, they are constantly challenged by their peers. Their standing, honor, and privilege depend on their service to the community. If they fail, they suffer harsh criticism and disgrace”⁷⁹. These words can be directly transferred to the Cretan situation and the contest among the “kings” as to who would best guarantee the well-being of “his people.” Cretan cities elevated this idea to the status of an institution.

What they thus spared themselves was above all the inner discord, which was so typical of Sparta, between the communal interests aimed at equality and the interests of individual, potentially powerful citizens to secure their personal pre-eminence. As a consequence the communal body of all citizens and the individual citizens were not irreconcilably opposed to each other as in Sparta. Time and again the legislator in the Cretan cities discovered ways to invite citizens to act in line with communal interests. Thus he was not always faced with the task of beating them into the required behavior, as in Sparta. The extent to which this attitude was ingrained in the lawmaker’s thinking is perhaps shown by a stock phrase which keeps recurring in Cretan laws. With regard to the activities of citizens or officials, it is stated over and over that “... there shall be no punishment to them”⁸⁰. Of course the Cretan legislator also could not do entirely without penal provisions, but even the wording reflects that the intention was not so much to make people abstain from socially unacceptable behavior by means of threats, but rather to persuade them to act in conformity with communal interests⁸¹.

76 Ath. 15, 695–696; cf. also Kirsten 1936, 117–119; Gehrke 1997, 28: “Die eigentlich freien Bürger haben sich durchaus als Herrschicht verstanden. Ihr Lebensstil und ihre Mentalität waren gekennzeichnet durch kriegerisches Auftrumpfen und die Zuspitzung einer in Griechenland verbreiteten Freiheitsvorstellung, welche die wirkliche Freiheit als Freiheit zum Herrschen über andere verstand und Macht und Stärke als Grundlage von Ehre ansah.”

77 Cf., however, Kirsten 1936, 171; on this see Link 1994b, 123 f. 128.

78 Not quite convincingly Gehrke 1997, 37, on “eher egalitäre(n) Strukturen”, which (as he says) seem to have crossed family and *phylai* structures. Within the *agelai*, however, there were no such egalitarian structures, as Gehrke himself also states elsewhere: “Diese Gruppen wurden vom Einflußreichsten und Ranghöchsten zusammengebracht bzw. dieser erhielt offenbar durch die Konstituierung einer solchen Gemeinschaft besonderen Rang”; Gehrke 1997, 37 f.

79 Raaflaub – Wallace 2007, 31.

80 Koerner 1993, no. 129 b 14; cf. also Koerner 1993, nos. 112, 128, lines 4–6; 137, 148 and elsewhere.

81 Koerner has already emphasised the fact that the provision according to which someone should go unpunished appears sometimes rather unexpectedly: Koerner 1993, 432.

Appendix

Lyktos' law concerning the accommodation of foreigners (ca. 500 BCE)

Gods.

The Lyktians have decided: He who accommodates a foreigner [shall be fined ...], except for the case that he himself is his master or that (the foreigner) is an Itanian. Should a *kosmos* or a former *kosmos* [accommodate a foreigner] he shall (pay) 100 *lebetas* according to the law about [...] for each one whom he accommodates. The judges shall (impose the sanction) on each one as soon as he accommodates [...]⁸²

How do we understand this law? Both van Effenterres as well as Koerner suppose it to have been a measure against the presence of foreigners in town – either with the aim to expel those already present⁸³ or to try to keep such people out in general⁸⁴. Koerner was already astonished by this supposed intention; he repeatedly remarks that the law seems to be somehow peculiar, and he adds *expressis verbis* that he does not know of any other similar example: “Dagegen ist mir kein Beispiel dafür bekannt, daß eine Polis die Aufnahme von Fremden generell verwehrte, zumal in Kreta, wo das Gastrecht hoch geachtet war”⁸⁵.

In fact the impression of a general law against foreigners seems to be wrong, as the wording does not say that Lyktos banned foreigners. All the lawgiver said was that individuals should not be allowed to host foreigners. In general this law applies to every citizen as the first fragmentary provision shows. But as specified in the second provision it becomes clear that it is mainly directed at the aristocratic segment of the citizenry; their punishment was fixed at a different, most probably higher level. Such a differentiation in punishment is very exceptional⁸⁶ and thus it shows the lawgiver's special interest in this arrangement.

What kind of behavior may have sparked off such a differentiating law⁸⁷? The archetype would have been the aristocratic guest-friendships of old, as can be found in Homer. It was these guest-friendships among the heroes that made the “real aristocrat”, and the fact that the guest-friends came from different and far-away cities that made them all the more worthwhile. Such guest-friendships warranted personal superiority. In comparison to such external relations, internal matters, “this city”, the neighbors and citizens, were less important. Insofar (according to Ian Morris) they have to be taken as an essential element of an aristocratic-“elitist”, not a “middling” existence. In other words, the Lyktian law leads us directly into a conflict that is well known from the Archaic epic tradition: “There was no way to transcend the polis in the middling tradition”, as Morris states. “The differences between the two poetic traditions came down to a single point: the elitists legitimated their special role from sources outside the polis; the middling poets rejected such claims. The former blurred distinctions between male and female, present and past, mortal and divine, Greek and Lydian, to reinforce a distinction between aristocrat and commoner; the

⁸² Koerner 1993, no. 87.

⁸³ van Effenterre – van Effenterre 1985, 179–188.

⁸⁴ Koerner 1993, 328.

⁸⁵ Koerner 1993, 328.

⁸⁶ Koerner 1993, 330.

⁸⁷ Concerning the meaning of *dechomai* see e.g. Hom. Od. 19, 316.

latter did the opposite. Each was probably guilty of disgusting and polluting behavior in the eyes of the other”⁸⁸.

Analyzing the law against this background it becomes obvious that the lawgiver did actually not intend to ban foreigners from town, but what he banned was private hospitality. Speaking more generally, what was suppressed was a distinctively private festive culture, sympotic feasts and connections that all transcended the polis’ boundaries and were not linked to its civic society. It was an eminently “middling” law in order to commit elitist aristocrats to their polis Lyktos. They were no longer allowed to host any guest-friend privately – thus losing the stage for self-portrayal at home, and in consequence they became unattractive to external guest-friends as well.

This raises the question of where foreigners now lived and ate. Easy answer. As Dosiadas says there were two public houses in each Cretan city: one for the foreigners to be hosted and another for the citizens’ dinners. And he continues: in the second house there were two tables right at the entrance at which the foreigners were served⁸⁹. This description makes it perfectly clear to what extent the accommodation of foreigners was actually valued as a common task for the whole citizenry⁹⁰.

And thus this law also exemplifies that the Cretan “middling” polis did not develop by chance or exist without the citizens’ conscious intention. It had to be created and observed by deliberate acts like this law of Lyktos – obviously quite a close parallel to the well-known “fruit-dividers” of Gortyn⁹¹. It was, so to speak, always in the process of being created.

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⁸⁸ Morris 1996, 35 f.

⁸⁹ Ephoros FGrH 458 fr. 2 ap. Ath. 4, 143 a–b.

⁹⁰ Against this background it is not very likely that the two “guest-tables” in every *andreion* were meant to be seats of honour only. Although on the one hand, this may possibly have been the case; on the other hand, they certainly offered a perfect way of monitoring the city’s own aristocrats and their respective hospitable behavior.

⁹¹ Koerner 1993, no. 152.

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Paula Perlman

Reading and Writing Archaic Cretan Society

This paper has two chief interests. One is methodological: the use of textual evidence (literary and epigraphic) in writing about Archaic Crete¹. The other is historical: the nature of Archaic Cretan society and in particular the social and civic associations (family, clan, and tribe; *hetaireia* and *andreion*) of the members of the political class. I begin with a brief discussion of method before turning to the social and civic associations of the communities of Archaic Crete.

I have argued elsewhere against the value of the later literary traditions for the study of the political and social organization of the poleis of Archaic and Early Classical Crete². My skepticism is premised on three observations concerning these traditions that have not been seriously challenged in two decades of reading and writing about early Crete. First, the view of Aristotle and others that there was a single *Cretan* political and social system (the so-called “Cretan *politeia*”) that was shared by all Cretan communities is *a priori* unlikely³. Apart from the few examples of artificial systems (e.g. federal Boiotia), the political and civic organization of any two Greek poleis, let alone the forty plus poleis of Archaic and Classical Crete, cannot be shown to have been sufficiently alike in detail to warrant a comparable appellation. Second, the “Cretan *politeia*” appears in these traditions as a foil for discussions of Sparta. Aristotle’s analysis implied an organic developmental model beginning with an earlier and less articulated system (that of Crete) that provided the template for Sparta’s later more developed one. There are good reasons to suspect that power struggles in mainland Greece prompted Sparta to forge (or attempt to forge) an agreement based on *syngeneia* with the Cretan polis Lyktos in the 5th century, thus planting the seed from which the later Classical and Hellenistic comparisons of Sparta and Crete grew. Assertions of kinship made in the service of ancient Greek diplomacy do not provide a firm foundation for historical reconstruction. Finally, there is no evidence that Plato, Aristotle, or Ephoros – authors of the earliest discussions of the “Cretan *politeia*” – visited Crete, that students of Plato or Aristotle traveled to Crete or Cretans came to study with them, or that treatises by Cretans were available to them⁴.

These traditions nevertheless continue to occupy the core of most discussions of Archaic Cretan society. The following points populate descriptions based on the later

Prof. Dr. Paula Perlman, Department of Classics, University of Texas at Austin, WAG 123, Mailcode C3400, Austin, TX 78712–0308, U.S.A, p.perlman@mail.utexas.edu

1 I would like to thank the organizers of this workshop, Oliver Pilz and Gunnar Seelentag, for their invitation to attend, and the participants for their stimulating papers and lively discussion.

2 Perlman 1992; Perlman 2005.

3 Chaniotis 2005 and Link 2008 argue that Cretan institutions exhibit considerable commonality. Cf. Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming.

4 On the local Cretan historians, see Strataridaki 1988/1989.

literary sources. Communities were comprised of a land-owning class – often understood as the descendants of Dorian immigrants – and dependent populations (slaves and serfs) who worked the land for them. An elite, dominated by a few clans, formed the political class of states best described as narrow oligarchies. Citizen youth joined the *agela*, an institution that provided the framework for public systems of military training and acculturation. Adult males of the citizen class belonged to *andreia*, associations that the literary tradition compared to the Spartan *pheiditia*. The *andreia* were a cornerstone of Cretan society. Members dined together; the requirement that they contribute food and drink for the communal meals inhibited an individual's ability to accumulate surpluses of agricultural produce, thus retarding the development of market-based exchange on Crete. In these accounts the Archaic and Early Classical inscriptions from Crete most often serve a supporting role to that of the ancient literary traditions (e.g. on the *agela*, the *andreion*, and the political organization of communities); the inscriptions lead only where they have more to contribute than the literary accounts (e.g. on inheritance). Either way, the later literary traditions provide the lens through which Archaic Cretan society is viewed.

The appeal of the literary traditions concerning Archaic Cretan society is understandable. The sheer quantity of information they offer and the curious institutions they describe demand attention. Besides, what sense can be made of the Archaic inscriptions and material record without the narrative framework the literary traditions provide? This is the question that the following discussion addresses. The inscriptions are difficult to use not only for the obvious reasons (state of preservation, unfamiliar vocabulary, uneven coverage, and so on), but perhaps more importantly because they are almost entirely public and legal in nature. They express formal, state-sanctioned rules. We can have little idea how these rules were activated in everyday life. Admitting these difficulties in using the inscriptions, the picture that develops from their study brings into question important aspects of both the later literary traditions and the modern accounts that rely on them.

The first section of this paper (*Associations*) examines the evidence of the Archaic and Early Classical inscriptions, and to a limited extent the archaeological correlates (houses, public buildings, cemeteries), for the social and civic associations of the members of the political class, considering in order: tribe, family, *hetaireia*, *andreion*, and clan. The second section (*The Cretan Tribes: History and Memory*) explores the contribution of later inscriptions to our understanding of early Cretan society and the deep (i.e. Early Iron Age) history of Crete's communities.

I Associations

A Tribe

The tribe (*pyla* = *phylē*) is attested in the early inscriptions of Dreros, Datala, and Gortyn. The term occurs in the plural in the enactment clause of one of the early

laws from Dreros (ca. 650–600 BCE)⁵: πόλι ἔφαδε διαλείσασι⁶ πυλάσι, “It pleased the polis, that is, the assembled tribes.” The dative participial phrase διαλείσασι πυλάσι appears to stand in apposition to polis (also in the dative)⁷, implying that the polis as a political community was roughly equivalent to the free native-born adult males who belonged to one of the tribes. Perhaps when the polis met as a decision-making body it assembled by tribe⁸. Tribes also appear in the enactment clause of the so-called “Spensithios Decree” of Datala (late 6th century BCE)⁹: ἔφαδε Δαταλεῦσι καὶ ἐσπένσαμεν πόλις | Σπενσιθίωι ἀπὸ πυλᾶν πέντε ἅπ' ἐκάστας, “It pleased the *Dataleis* and we the polis pledged to Spensithios, from the tribes five (men) from each ...” Here “*Dataleis*” are the body that enacted the agreement. Scholars have disagreed about the identity of the *Dataleis* and their relationship to “we the polis”¹⁰. The term occurs in the singular (*Datales*) as the second part of a personal name in a 6th century BCE artist’s signature¹¹, a use that in the Cretan context strongly suggests that the term is an *ethnikon* and refers to the individual’s polis¹². Used collectively in the plural, these *ethnika* (or city-ethnics) denote the citizens of a polis (i.e. Datala). The *Dataleis*, then, were the citizens of the polis of Datala who enacted the decree. As representatives of the polis of Datala a small group pledged on its behalf to execute the terms of the agreement¹³. Both inscriptions imply that the tribe was the basic civic sub-division of the polis and played a formal role in public enactments.

The term is attested at Gortyn in the singular in uncertain contexts in two very fragmentary laws¹⁴ and in passages concerning the marriage of heiresses in the

5 van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, 64.

6 The meaning of διαλείσασι (aor. pass. part. of διελίω?) is not certain. The verb otherwise occurs only in Plut. Mor. 1039e in the sense “unroll”, but it should probably be connected with κατελίω, which occurs several times at Gortyn with the meaning “assembled” (IC IV 72, X, line 35; IC IV 72, XI, lines 13–14; IC IV 80, lines 14. 15).

7 Some scholars have understood the participle in the absolute sense, viz. “with the tribes having been consulted” or “having been dispersed”, suggesting an earlier meeting (or meetings) of the tribes (see van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, 64), or perhaps that the tribes assembled and then a separate (smaller) body, the polis, decided; but it is not clear that a dative participial clause can be construed in this absolute way.

8 Rhodes 1997, 309 suggests that the tribes voted separately.

9 van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, 22.

10 Citizens of the polis (i.e. Datala) that passed this decree (Gschnitzer 1974; Viviers 1994); members of a civic sub-group (*startos*, tribe, or clan) of the polis (name unknown) that passed this decree (Jeffery – Morpurgo-Davies 1970; Ruzé 1983); inhabitants of Datala, an outlying hamlet dependent upon the polis (possibly Lato) that passed this decree (van Effenterre 1973, 35–37).

11 Δαμόθετος ἐπόεσα Δαταλές (Λεμπέση 1973, 191).

12 Perlman 1996; Perlman 2004, 1155 f.

13 Cf. the oath sworn by the *kosmos*, the twenty of the polis, and the *damioi* in the law on iteration from Dreros (SEG 27, 620). The occasion of the Drerian oath is not certain, but the meeting when the law was enacted is likely.

14 IC IV 19. 104.

5th-century Gortyn Code. Claimants to an heiress (*patroiokos*), defined as a girl who has no brother of the same father at the time of her father's death¹⁵, are in order of priority her father's brother, her father's nephew, and someone from the *pyla*¹⁶. If there is no claimant and no fellow tribesman volunteers to marry her, the heiress is to marry whomever she can¹⁷. This procedure, amounting to a near total prohibition for heiresses of marriage outside of the tribe, is unparalleled in any other of the close to two hundred poleis where the *phyle* organization is attested¹⁸. The reasons for the prohibition and its implications for the nature of the tribe in 5th-century Gortyn have been the subject of considerable debate¹⁹. Why, when it appears that all tribal members were citizens, was the marriage of heiresses restricted in this way?

Willetts proposed that the tribes were quasi-kinship organizations, each made up of several pairs of clans that exchanged daughters in marriage²⁰; rules restricting the marriage of an heiress to a fellow tribesman were designed to preserve tribal divisions of land, implying that at some time in the past land had been apportioned among the members of the tribes²¹. Chaniotis agrees that the objective of the restriction was probably the preservation of property (land) within the

15 IC IV, VIII, lines 40–42.

16 An heiress is to marry “whomever she wishes of those of the tribe who ask (her)” (τᾶς πῶλᾱς τῶν αἰτιόντων ὅτιμι καὶ λῆι) in the event that no claimant wished to marry her (IC IV 72, VII, lines 50–52) or she did not wish to marry the claimant (IC IV 72, VII, line 52–VIII, line 7). A married heiress with children inherits her share of the estate and may, if she wishes, divorce and marry another from the tribe (IC IV 72, VIII, lines 20–27); a widowed heiress with children is free to marry another from the tribe or not as she wishes (IC IV 72, VIII, lines 30–33). All of these rules assume a single heiress. Presumably if there is more than one, they will divide the estate equally among them.

17 IC IV 72, VIII, lines 8–12.

18 Jones 1987, 224 f.

19 For a brief survey of the diverse opinions of scholars about the social structure revealed by these provisions, see van Effenterre – Ruzé 1995, 194. 196 who conclude that the rules reflect practical concerns, viz. protecting heiresses while ensuring the continuity of the family.

20 Willetts 1955, 28. 77; Willetts 1967, 18–20. 23–27. Willetts argued that the Code reflects a society in the process of transition from a matrilineal system that practiced tribal exogamy to a patrilineal system practicing tribal endogamy. His views on 5th-century Gortynian society, premised on Marxist evolutionary theory, have been universally rejected. See e.g. Wolff 1968; Meyer-Laurin 1969. Morris 1990 demonstrates that there is no evidence for exchange of daughters between clans (i.e. cross-cousin marriage) at Gortyn as Willetts proposed, but Willetts' assertion that Gortynian citizens belonged to clans and his belief in the importance of clans in 5th-century (and earlier) Gortynian society persist until today in the scholarship on Archaic and Classical Cretan society. See below.

21 Willetts 1955, 27 f.; Willetts 1967, 11. 26. Willetts does not suggest a historical context for the apportionment of land among the tribes. Watrous – Hadzi-Vallianou 2004, 343 propose a political explanation (“some form of land redistribution”) for the establishment ca. 625–550 BCE of a ring of new farms within one to two kilometers from the town center of Phaistos (but do not associate a distribution of land with the *phyle* organization).

tribe²². Unlike Willetts, however, he views the tribes as military and territorial units (see below). The provision allowing an heiress to marry outside of the tribe (“whomever she can”) as a last resort when there was neither a claimant nor a fellow tribesman who was willing to marry her might be understood to support the view of Willetts and Chaniotis that the tribes controlled some land²³. The failure of a family to produce a claimant suggests that it was on the brink of extinction; its inability to secure a willing fellow tribesman suggests that the estate was very small. Under these circumstances it might be argued that there was little risk that the heiress’s future children, members presumably of their father’s tribe, would inherit land that had belonged to the tribe of the heiress’s father and mother.

Whatever one’s view of the nature of the tribe, however, this explanation of the rules restricting the marriage of heiresses to tribesmen is not acceptable. There are good reasons to conclude that land, at least in 5th-century Gortyn, could be bought, sold, and mortgaged, and at a person’s death was divided among the heirs who could inherit and leave it to their heirs²⁴. Yet, there is no evidence that land could be sold or mortgaged only to a fellow tribesman. Furthermore, all free native-born women, not only heiresses, inherited a share of their fathers’ estates, including land²⁵. If rules concerning marriage and inheritance were designed at least in part to preserve tribal lands, one would expect a similar restriction on marriage to a fellow tribesman for all women; we know of no such rule.

Thus far we have noted that the early inscriptions of three *poleis* – Dreros, Datala, and Gortyn – attest the phyle organization as early as the late 7th or early 6th century BCE. The tribes of Dreros and Datala were clearly civic sub-units of the polis: the assembled tribes of Dreros comprised the polis in its decision-making capacity; at Datala a group made up of an equal number of men from each tribe swore on behalf of the polis to comply with the terms of its enactments. The early inscriptions of Dreros and Datala, then, imply that all citizens belonged to tribes. Heiresses in 5th-century Gortyn were required to marry their father’s uncle, nephew, or a fellow tribesman (suggesting children belonged to the tribe of their father). The explanation for what amounts to tribal endogamy in the case of heiresses remains unclear, but preservation of tribal lands should be ruled out for the reasons suggested above. It is plausible that a bride, whether or not an heiress, and a

²² Chaniotis 2005, 180–183.

²³ IC IV 72, VIII, lines 8–12.

²⁴ Link 1994, 80–82; Maffi 2003, 175–180 (with a good summary of earlier scholarship); Davies 2005, 160 f.; Gagarin 2010, 24 f.; Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming. For the view that land did not constitute private property and was inalienable, see Brixhe – Bile 1999; Μανδαλάκη 2000.

²⁵ Each daughter inherited one-half the share of each son (IC IV 72, IV, lines 31–43), regardless of whether the estate was her mother’s (*matroia*) or her father’s (*patroia*). The term *matroia* (“mother’s estate”) is also attested in an Archaic law from Phaistos (SEG 32, 908, ca. 550–500 BCE), suggesting that similar rules may have existed there.

groom often belonged to the same tribe even though there was no formal rule requiring this²⁶.

B Family

Sources for family organization in 6th and 5th-century Crete are sparse. Houses and burials comprise the lion's share of the contemporary evidence, but it is only fairly recently that archaeologists have made important new discoveries of houses and burials of this period, including in their discussions of the more recent finds descriptions and analysis of material that, although uncovered some time ago, was not widely known outside of the specialist scholarly community²⁷. The full potential of houses and burials as sources for Late Archaic and Early Classical Cretan society has yet to be realized in the scholarship. Space permits only a few observations concerning the nine 6th-century town houses at Azoria and island-wide patterns in 6th-century burials that are of particular relevance to the question of family structure.

Several of the 6th-century town houses at Azoria were conceived as part of the radical reorganization of the civic center of the settlement in the late 7th century (South Slope, Northwest, and Northeast Buildings)²⁸. All of the town houses appear to have undergone remarkably little renovation throughout the life of the settlement (late 7th to early 5th centuries BCE), implying that the size and the nature of the co-residential group did not change appreciably²⁹. This picture of co-residential stability during a period of one hundred years or so contrasts significantly with the development of the household complexes at Vronta, Kavousi during LM IIIC (ca. 1200–1050 BCE) and the Northwest Building at Kastro, Kavousi, inhabited continuously from the 12th to the 7th century³⁰.

Haggis identifies the settlements at Azoria, Vronta, and Kastro as an interdependent “site cluster” whose populations consisted of extended family groups³¹. Unlike the town houses at Azoria, each of the housing complexes at Vronta and the Northwest Building at Kastro consist of several house or household units that “reveal several stages of construction and modification”, perhaps reflecting “the

²⁶ Kristensen 2002, 79 suggests that the rules concerning marriage to someone from the tribe were not restrictive but rather provided a safety net assuring that an heiress would find a husband.

²⁷ The 6th-century housing complex at Onythe Goulediana (near Rethymnon), excavated in the 1950's, is a good example of a discovery made some time ago but never fully published. See Haggis – Mook 2011, 373.

²⁸ Haggis – Mook 2011, 368 fig. 31, 1; 369 f. 373; Haggis et al. 2011b, 432, 434. The Southwest and North Acropolis Buildings were built at the same time, but located outside of the area of the civic center.

²⁹ Haggis et al. 2011b, 481.

³⁰ For Vronta, Kavousi, see Glowacki 2007; for Kastro, Kavousi, see Mook in Coulson et al. 1997, 353–390.

³¹ Haggis 1993; Haggis 2005, 81–86. 150 f.

growth and changing composition of an extended family over time”³². The excavators identify the co-residential groups of the individual house/household units as nuclear families³³. The town houses at Azoria are much larger than the individual house/household units at Vronda³⁴. The free-standing Building A located on the east slope of Kastro is about the same size (ca. 85 m²) as the North Akropolis building at Azoria. Evidently a residence, the excavators suggest on the basis of its size and its high quality construction that it was the home of “an important member of the Kastro community”³⁵. Unlike the Northwest Building at Kavousi, Building A does not appear to have expanded during its lifetime (8th to early 7th centuries BCE)³⁶.

Several patterns of use suggest that the urban houses at Azoria represented one node of a multilocal household, defined as a system incorporating kin and serf populations residing and working elsewhere in the town center³⁷, an attractive model in light of the provision in the Gortyn Code implying that a 5th-century Gortynian estate might include more than one house in the city as well as a house in the country³⁸. First, despite the space devoted to the storage of agricultural produce, there is surprisingly little indication of large-scale storage of grain. Second, rooms identified as kitchens attest the preparation for consumption of a great variety of foods and methods of preparing food (grinding, mixing, baking, boiling, roasting), but almost no evidence for primary butchering of livestock or primary processing e.g. of grain into flour, olives into olive oil, or grapes into wine. Third, the large amount of stored agricultural wealth implies reliance upon a labor force exceeding in number those possibly accommodated by a single house. These observations suggest that some agricultural products were stored elsewhere and that primary butchering and processing took place elsewhere, either at other houses in the town center or on estates belonging to the multilocal household. Rather than closely-knit extended families, the 6th-century houses at Azoria may reflect a pattern of individual households consisting of the nuclear family, dependents, and multiple houses.

Sixth-century burials are more widely represented in the archaeological record of Crete than 6th-century houses. Cemeteries dating to the 6th century have been excavated at Itanos, Praisos, Aphrati (= ancient Datala?), Eltynia, Axos, Eleu-

32 Glowacki 2007, 132, 134.

33 Glowacki 2007, 134; Mook in Coulson et al. 1997, 388.

34 Azoria (Haggis et al. 2011b, 478): interior space of Northeast building ca. 164 m²; the lower of the Southwest Buildings ca. 109 m²; the North Acropolis Building ca. 84 m². Vronda, Kavousi (Glowacki 2007, 135 f. tab. 14, 1): approximately 30–40 m² of interior space.

35 Tobin in Coulson et al. 1997, 332 f.

36 Tobin in Coulson et al. 1997, 320 no. 8 understands the blocking of several doors in Building A during the Early Orientalizing period, a phenomenon found throughout EO Kastro, to be symptomatic of a dwindling population.

37 Haggis et al. 2011b, 484.

38 IC IV 72, IV, lines 31–35.

therna, Kydonia, Kastello Varypetrou, and Phalasarna³⁹. Erickson identifies local and regional burial patterns in his survey of the 6th-century burials on Crete, but discerns as well an island-wide transformation characterized by the relocation of cemeteries, changes in burial type and grave goods, and a shift from collective to individual burial that takes place during the late 7th and early 6th centuries BCE⁴⁰. The burials appear to denote a similar shift in organization as do houses of the “Kavousi cluster” (Kastro, Vronta, Azoria) away from social units comprised of tightly-knit extended families, although as Hodder cautions, “the study of burial must be primarily concerned with attitudes to death and life, and that as part of these attitudes we must expect distortions, partial expressions and even inversions of what happens in social life”⁴¹. Erickson argues for deliberate restraint and a new dominant ideology of membership in the community at large to explain this pattern⁴².

Contemporary (6th-century) inscriptions provide no evidence for the organization of families, but inscriptions of the Classical period from Gortyn, the Code in particular, indicate that parents and their children comprised the core group of the family in 5th-century Gortyn. Specific terms for members of the nuclear family in the Code are the standard father (πάτερ), mother (μάτερ), daughter (θυγάτερ), son (υιός), brother (ἀδελπιός), and sister (ἀδελπιά). There are general terms for close paternal (πάτρος = πάτρως) and maternal (μάτρος = μήτρως) relatives⁴³, but to specify e.g. a paternal uncle, the Code uses “father’s brother” and similar formulations to identify members of the extended family. Two other terms, ἐπιβάλλον⁴⁴ and καδεστάς⁴⁵, refer to kin but are not strictly speaking “kinship terms”⁴⁶. An

³⁹ For detailed descriptions of the 6th-century burials and bibliography, see Erickson 2010, 249–257. Wallace 2010, 286–311 looks at burials from the 10th through the 7th centuries, noting the presence of large collective tombs alongside individual pithos burials already in the 9th century and becoming much more common in the 7th.

⁴⁰ Erickson 2010, 249–257.

⁴¹ Hodder 1982, 200.

⁴² Erickson 2010, 254 f. Cf. Wallace 2010, 327 who attributes the new austerity and the shift from communal to individual burial to the confidence of dominant clans who no longer needed to demonstrate their cohesion as kinship groups or their exclusivity and power through communal burial and funerary display.

⁴³ IC IV 72, VIII, lines 42–46. lines 51–53; IC IV 72, IX, lines 1–7; IC IV 72, XII, lines 13–14. See Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming. Cf. Bile 1988, 332 who prefers the more restricted sense of maternal and paternal uncle (except in IC IV 72, XII, lines 13–14 where she adopts the more general meaning, viz. maternal and paternal relatives).

⁴⁴ *Epiballon*, attested only in the Gortyn Code, occurs in many of its provisions concerning inheritance and the marriage of heiresses.

⁴⁵ *Kadestas* is attested in five passages of the Gortyn Code (IC IV 72, II, line 18; IC IV 72, II, lines 29–30; IC IV 72, III, lines 50–51; IC IV 72, VII, lines 43–44; IC IV 72, VIII, line 14) and is restored in one earlier law also from Gortyn (IC IV 46B, 13–14).

⁴⁶ See Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming. Cf. Bile 1988, 332–334 who provides a brief survey of scholarship on these terms. She prefers the general sense maternal (*kadestas*) and paternal (*epiballon*)

epiballon is plausibly someone who has a legal claim to an inheritance (see below) or to the hand of an heiress (paternal uncles and cousins), and a *kadestas* someone who has a legal obligation to do something on behalf of a relative⁴⁷.

Rules concerning inheritance were the same for both the father's estate (*patroia*) and the mother's (*matroia*). First in line to inherit were children (sons and daughters), followed by grandchildren and great grandchildren; in the absence of these, next in line were brothers of the deceased and their children or grandchildren followed by sisters and their children or grandchildren⁴⁸. Failing these, the estate went to "those to whom it falls" (οἷς κ' ἐπιβάλλει⁴⁹), and finally to "those of the household who are the *klaros*" (τᾶς φοικίας οἴτινές κ' ἴοντι ὁ κλᾶρος⁵⁰). The fourth group ("those to whom it falls") were more distant relatives, probably from the same generations as the first three groups, e.g. cousins of the deceased and their children (and grandchildren?)⁵¹. The fifth group ("those who are the *klaros*") seem to be *woikeis*, traditionally identified as "serfs" who lived on and worked the estates of citizens⁵². Willetts's suggestion that "those to whom it falls" were members of the deceased's "clan", defined as "kinsmen but not members of the same *oikos* as the deceased" is problematic, not only because it seems unlikely that formal kinship groups of the degree that Willetts envisages would fail to provide an heir, but also because there is very little evidence for formal private or public associations between family and tribe in 6th-century Crete, the topic to which we next turn⁵³.

C Between Family and Tribe

i Hetaireia and Andreion

The ἐταιρεία and ἀνδρεῖον, institutions of indeterminate nature and organization, are attested in the early laws Crete. Two 5th-century laws from Gortyn mention the

relative. Morris 1990, 246 understands *kadestai* as a broad term for male affines and *epiballontes* as kin who inherit.

⁴⁷ *Kadestai* chaperone free women (IC IV 72, II, line 18), ransom someone who was seized when caught having illicit sex (IC IV 72, II, lines 29–30), swear that a divorcée attempted to present an infant to her ex-husband (IC IV 72, III, lines 50–51), initiate a suit against an *epiballon* who refuses to marry an heiress (IC IV 72, VII, lines 43–44), invite by proclamation a fellow tribesman to marry an heiress for whom there is no *epiballon* (IC IV 72, VIII, line 14), and possibly participate in funeral processions (IC IV 46B, 12–14).

⁴⁸ IC IV 72, V, lines 9–22.

⁴⁹ IC IV 72, V, lines 22–25.

⁵⁰ IC IV 72, V, lines 25–28.

⁵¹ Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming.

⁵² Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming.

⁵³ Willetts 1967, 12.

ἑταιρεία⁵⁴. The earlier of the two refers to judges of the hetaireiai in a rule concerning judicial procedure⁵⁵. The provisions in lines 1–10 concern a dispute involving a property boundary. The case that the judge of the hetaireia decides may be similar, but this is not necessarily so. The second attestation occurs in a provision of the Gortyn Code requiring a person who adopted someone to give a sacrificial animal and a jug of wine “to his own etaireia”⁵⁶. The language “to his own etaireia” implies that membership in an hetaireia was widespread among free adult native-born males, but presumably did not include *apetairoi* (lit. “not of an etaireia”)⁵⁷. The *apetairos*, mentioned at Gortyn in the rules on sexual offenses in the Great Code and once in a fragmentary inscription without context, is apparently a free person, but of lower status than other free persons, since the rape of an *apetairos* draws a fine of only ten staters, compared with one hundred for the rape of a free man⁵⁸. It is possible that serfs without a master and freed slaves belonged to this class⁵⁹.

The Cretan hetaireia is often equated with the Athenian phratry⁶⁰. There is little basis for doing so. We cannot conclude that membership in a hetaireia was a condition for citizenship at Gortyn or anywhere else on Crete, or that all adopted sons, let alone all natural sons of citizen parents, were registered with the father’s hetaireia. On the other hand, late literary traditions have been understood to imply that the hetaireiai were tied to a system of communal dining, a link that the rule requiring a Gortynian adopter to donate a sacrificial animal and wine to his hetaireia has been understood to support. The late historian Dosiadas stated that the Cretan word for the hetaireia and for one of the houses (*oikoi*) where the syssition (communal dining club) met was *andreion*⁶¹. Yet, the occurrence of two distinct

⁵⁴ One of the early laws from Dreros possibly refers to the hetaireia (SEG 23, 530), but the reading and interpretation are so disputed that it cannot provide secure evidence. See Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming.

⁵⁵ οἱ δὲ τᾶν ἑταιρηϊᾶν δικασσάι κ’ ὅς κα τῶν ἐνεκύρον δικάδῃ, αἱ αὐταμέριν δικάσσαι ἢ ἐς τὸν αὔριον ἄπατον ἡμην, “But for the judge of the etaireiai and whoever judges on cases of sureties, if they judge on the same day or the next, there is to be immunity.” IC IV 42B, 11–14.

⁵⁶ ὁ δ’ ἀμπανάμενος δότο τᾷ ἑταιρείᾳ τᾷ φαὶ αὐτῷ ἱαρεῖον καὶ πρόκοον φοῖνο, “Let the adopter give to his own etaireia a sacrificial animal and a jug of wine.” IC IV 72, X, lines 37–39.

⁵⁷ Maffi 2003, 163.

⁵⁸ IC IV 72, II, lines 2–45; IC IV 84, line 6.

⁵⁹ Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming, commentary on IC IV 72, V, line 27.

⁶⁰ Willetts 1955, 23–27; 1967, 77; cf. Guarducci 1935, 440–442. Jones 1988, 219 f. notes in reference to Crete that the hetaireia “is without a trace of public function here or in other Greek states, save nearby Kyrene.” For the public role of the Athenian phratry, see Lambert 1993, 25–57 (after Cleisthenes). 251–267 (before Cleisthenes).

⁶¹ Dosiadas FGtH 458 fr. 2, 5–15; ap. Ath. 4, 143 b: διήρηνται δ’ οἱ πολῖται πάντες καθ’ ἑταιρίας, καλοῦσι δὲ ταύτας ἀνδρεῖα, ... εἰσὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην οἶκοι δύο ταῖς συσσιτίαις, ὧν τὸν μὲν καλοῦσιν ἀνδρεῖον, “All the citizens are divided into hetairiai, but they call them andreia... Throughout Crete there are two buildings for the *syssitai*, one of which they call *andreion*...”.

terms, *hetaireia* and *andreion*, at 5th-century Gortyn suggests instead that they refer to two distinct institutions, the first to an association of free men and the second to a public building or specific space (see below). The laws give no indication that the *andreion* functioned as a meeting place of the *hetaireiai*, nor is there any reason to take the provision from the Gortyn Code concerning the role of an adopter's *hetaireia* in an adoption as evidence that the members of a *hetaireia* regularly dined together.

The *andreion* ("men's hall") is widely attested in the laws. The noun occurs in texts from Axos, Datala, Eltynia, and Gortyn, always in the singular without qualifying language of the sort e.g. "his own" that might imply the existence of more than one men's hall in a community⁶². Traditionally, the *andreion* has been connected with the institution of common meals (*syssitia*) for which Sparta was famous. Aristotle, Ephoros, and Dosiadas authors of the most detailed accounts of the "Cretan *syssition*", agreed that the Cretan word for these Spartan-style communal dining clubs was *andreion*⁶³. The ancient descriptions of the Cretan *syssition* differ in detail, particularly on the question of the role of the polis in supplying the *andreion* with food and drink for the common meals, but in broad outline they all seem to imply that free native-born males, including boys, adolescents, and adults, regularly took their meals in the *andreion* to which they contributed a share of their agricultural produce.

The texts from Axos and Datala, both agreements between the city and public workers, indicate that the public workers dined in the *andreion* on rations supplied by the polis⁶⁴. The earlier of the two laws from Gortyn possibly refers to drinking in the *andreion*⁶⁵; the other identifies an official (ὁ ἄρκος, "the leader") as someone who contributes something to the *andreion*⁶⁶. The provision in the law from Eltynia envisages the *andreion* as a building where an assault might take place⁶⁷. Finally, scholars have assumed that the law of the *karpodaistai* from Gortyn concerns the collection from individuals of set shares of produce destined for the *andreion*, but other uses for the produce, e.g. as payments in kind to public workers, are possible⁶⁸.

The laws, then, attest the existence of a public building called *andreion* in several communities, of dining and possibly drinking in them, of public contributions of food to some individuals for meals taken in the *andreion*, and of the existence at Gortyn of an official ("the leader") associated with the *andreion*. Apart from the public workers at Axos and Datala we do not know who dined in the

⁶² IC II, v, 1, lines 8. 15; SEG 27, 631B, line 11; IC I, x, 2, line 6; IC IV 4, line 4; IC IV 75B, lines 7–9. Cf. above "give to his own *hetaireia*" (IC IV 72, X, lines 37–39).

⁶³ Arist. Pol. 1272 a1–4; FGrH 70 fr. 149, ap. Strab. 10, 4, 18 (C482); Dosiadas FGrH 458 fr. 2, 5–15.

⁶⁴ IC II, v 1; SEG 27, 631.

⁶⁵ IC IV 4, line 4 (ἐν ἀνδρήϊοι πί[νε]ν?).

⁶⁶ IC IV 75B, line 7–9.

⁶⁷ IC I, x 2, line 6.

⁶⁸ IC. IV 77. See Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming.

andreion or who supplied their food and drink. Did all free native-born males do so or those who belonged to a particular sub-group (based e.g. on age, wealth, or kinship) of them? If there was broad participation in the activities of the andreion we should imagine that those eligible in even a small community would have numbered in the hundreds. Another unknown is how often individuals dined in the andreion. Was it daily, as scholars appear to have assumed, or less frequently, perhaps only on special occasions?

The archaeological identification of public buildings serving the functions that the inscriptions ascribe to the Cretan andreion has proved to be elusive⁶⁹. The best candidate to date is the 6th-century structure at Azoria that the excavators have dubbed the “Communal Dining Building”⁷⁰. The archaeological material found in the building confirms that many of the activities we associate with the andreion took place there⁷¹. The replication of kitchens, storage rooms, and dining halls, and the discovery there of a concentration of fragments belonging to at least fourteen elaborate terracotta stands for kraters, the mixing bowls for wine and water that were fundamental to sympotic (i.e. communal) wine-drinking, are strong indications that this complex was not a private residence⁷². The two dining halls (A800 and A2000) are the largest rooms in the complex (ca. 18 m² and ca. 21 m² respectively), yet each could have accommodated only a dozen or so diners⁷³. Even if a third dining room has been lost to erosion as the excavators suggest, the Communal Dining Hall would not have accommodated more than a few dozen banqueters⁷⁴. It is, of course, possible that other as yet undiscovered buildings served the same functions as the Communal Dining Hall at Azoria, but on current evidence the capacity of the dining rooms of this building suggests that participation in its activities was not open to all of the free native-born men, not to mention boys, of Azoria who surely numbered more than a few dozen.

ii Clan

If the organization of the Gortynian hetaireiai and the Cretan andreion remains largely unknown, the very existence of formal clans in Archaic and Classical Crete

⁶⁹ Erickson 2011, 383–389; Haggis et al. 2011a, 4–6.

⁷⁰ Haggis et al. 2007; 2011a.

⁷¹ Haggis et al. 2011a, 4–16.

⁷² For the location of kitchens, storage rooms, and dining halls, see Haggis et al. 2011a, 5. For the significance of the concentration of krater stands in the Communal Dining Hall, see Haggis et al. 2011a, 14. Haggis et al. 2007, 253–265 discuss the repertoire of drinking and serving vessels from the building.

⁷³ The excavators estimate that the much larger (ca. 200 m²) main hall (D500) of a second 6th-century civic building at Azoria where feasting took place, dubbed the “Monumental Civic Building”, would have accommodated at most one hundred and fifty individuals. Haggis et al. 2011a, 39.

⁷⁴ For the possibility that there was at least one additional hall located to the west of A2000, see Haggis et al. 2011a, 64.

cannot be demonstrated. The only term that possibly refers to a clan in the sense of a formal private and/or public association is *στρατός*, a local Cretan term referring to a group of some kind that in the Classical period is attested only at Gortyn⁷⁵. The term has been explained as a local Cretan variant through metathesis of *στρατός*, whose primary sense is “army”, although *στρατός* can refer more generally to a large group of people⁷⁶. *Startos* occurs in the 5th-century agreement of Gortyn and Rhitten where we read that Gortyn’s *startagetas* (“leader of the *startos*”), the *kosmos* who goes to Rhitten, and the *kosmos* of Rhitten are to “serve as *kosmoi* over the person who does not obey the office of ephor”; the small fine exacted from someone who disobeys is to be shared with the *startos* and the Rhittenioi⁷⁷. The *startos* is also attested in the Gortyn Code in the dating formula ἄϊ ὅκ’ ὁ Αἰθ[α]λεὺς ‘ταρτὸς ἐκόσμιον οἱ σὺν Κύ[λ]λοι, “as (was written?) when the *startos* Aithaleus, Kyllos and his colleagues, were *kosmoi*”⁷⁸. Aithaleis, the plural form of Aithaleus, may be identified as a tribal name on analogy with Late Classical and Hellenistic dating formulas of the sort, e.g. ἐπὶ τῶν Δυμάνων κορμιόντων (τῶν) | σὺν Εὐρυβώ-ται τῷ Δαμασίλα{ς}, “when the Dymanes, with Euryboitas, son of Damasilas, were *kosmoi*”⁷⁹, where we find the names of the Dorian tribes (here Dymanes) and other names, including Aithaleis, that are most likely names of tribes. All discussions of this passage assume that the singular Aithaleus refers to the tribe Aithaleis. This may be right, although there is no other example of a tribal name occurring in both the plural and the singular⁸⁰. Alternatively, the *startos* Aithaleus could refer to a different group, perhaps a sub-unit of the tribe Aithaleis.

Chaniotis invokes a possible meaning of the term *kosmoi* (“men who set the army in array”) to argue that these officials exercised a military function and that *startos* Aithaleus denotes “the members of the tribe’s military assembly that elected its officers”⁸¹. There is no other evidence apart from the name that suggests that

⁷⁵ IC IV 72, V, lines 4–6; IC IV 80. The term *startos* also occurs in a late inscription from Lyktos concerning the funding of festivals (IC I, xviii, 11, line 11: 2nd–3rd centuries CE).

⁷⁶ For the original military sense of *stratos*, see Chantraine 1980, s. v.; cf. LSJ s. v. *στρατός* 2–3; Hesych. s. v. *σταρτοί*. αἱ τάξεις τοῦ πλήθους.

⁷⁷ IC IV 80, lines 4–8: τὸν δὲ σαρτ[α]γέταν καὶ τὸν κοσμίοντα ὃς κ’ ἄγε[ι] Ῥ[ι]ττενάδε κοσμεῖν πεδὰ τῷ Ῥιττενίῳ | κόσμῳ τὸν μὲ πειθόμενον τῷ ‘πορίμ[ο], δ[ι]αμύμενον δὲ δαρκνὰν καὶ κατακρέθαι πεδ[ι]α τε τῷ σαρτῷ καὶ πεδὰ τὸν Ῥιττενίον. For the meaning of τῷ ‘πορίμ[ο], translated here as “the office of ephor” (τοῦ ἐφορίμου), cf. Bile 1988, 171 no. 70 who prefers πορμιον = φορμιον (“tax”), and van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, 7 who suggest τῷ ‘πορίσμ[ο] (= *ephorismos*, “the boundary marker”), although there is not room on the stone for the san. All three terms (*ephorimos*, *phorimon*, and *ephorismos*) are otherwise unattested.

⁷⁸ IC IV 72, V, lines 4–6.

⁷⁹ IC IV 165: 3rd century BCE.

⁸⁰ Kristensen 2002, 67 n. 9 adduces the tribal name Ἀρχία/Ἀρχεία/Ἀρχία as a possible parallel, but it occurs only in the singular, never in the plural. All other tribal names occur only in the plural.

⁸¹ Chaniotis 2005, 180–183, with quote p. 181. There is no other evidence that the Cretan *kosmoi* served a military function. See Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming. Cf. Kristensen 2002, 66. 71–74 who

the *kosmoi* were military officials. From the earliest attestation of the *kosmos* in what may be the earliest Cretan law, the functions of the *kosmoi* appear to have been entirely civil⁸². In such a case, it is difficult to understand why a tribal military assembly would elect them in 5th-century Gortyn.

Willetts understood *startos* to mean “clan”, invoking the assertion of Aristotle that Cretans choose the *kosmoi* ἐκ τινῶν γενῶν, “from certain *gene*”⁸³. Thus, the *genos/startos* was a sub-unit of the tribe and the *startos* Aithaleus refers to a *genos*, presumably of the tribe Aithaleis, to which Kyllós and his colleagues belonged. Willetts’ interpretation is beset by several difficulties. Not only is the use of Aristotle to interpret the *startos*, an obscure group attested in just two 5th-century inscriptions from Gortyn and one much later text from Lyktos, unwarranted, but we do not know exactly what Aristotle meant by *genos* in this context. Did he have in mind the 4th-century Athenian *genos* as a model, or was his use of the term more general, intended only to imply a family belonging to the community’s elite? These uncertainties are compounded by scholars who assert the importance of the clan in Archaic Crete without indicating in what sense they use the term.

Neither of the interpretations of the *startos* (military unit or *genos*/clan) makes satisfactory sense of all of the evidence⁸⁴. Difficult questions remain. Does Aithaleus refer to the tribe Aithaleis, or to a separate group, and if the latter was it a sub-unit of the tribe? Does *startos* refer to the same group in the Gortyn Code and in the agreement of Gortyn and Rhitten? The assumption should be that it does. If so, what function might a *genos*/clan and its leader, the *startagetas*, play in preserving order in Rhitten? Conversely, assuming a tribal organization for the military, is there a parallel for the military assembly electing the political officials of a 5th-century polis? At best we can observe that in both 5th-century inscriptions the *startos* appears to exercise a civic role.

Traditionally the Greek *genos* is defined as an early (i.e. Dark Age) aristocratic kinship group that united in common worship of an heroic, often eponymous ancestor, controlled major cults and priesthoods, held property in common, and dominated politics. A new consensus, initiated by the publications of Roussel and Bourriot in 1976, holds that the *genos* was not a survival of the Dark Age but developed concurrently with the polis. Neither was it monolithic. Bourriot concluded that the Athenian *gene* were a hodgepodge, comprising a small number of priestly families (e.g. the Kerykes), other groups (the so-called “*kome-genos*”) with a local base (e.g.

understands *startos* as a term for *phylē* that refers specifically to the adult male citizens of the tribe who would also comprise Gortyn’s army.

⁸² SEG 27, 620: from Dreros, ca. 650 BCE; See Gagarin – Perlman, forthcoming.

⁸³ Arist. Pol. 1272 a33–35; Willetts 1955, 28 f. 111–113; Willetts 1967, 11.

⁸⁴ Jones 1987, 226 suggests combining the two in a developmental scheme whereby elite clans who dominate their tribal regiments (*startoi*) come to extend their domination over the chief magistracy of the polis.

the Salaminioi), and by the late 4th century politically important families (*oikiai*) who called themselves *gene* retrospectively in order to emphasize their identity as descendants of the “original” Athenians (e.g. the Alkmaionidai)⁸⁵. Furthermore, the Attic *gene* were not exclusively aristocratic – many of the priestly and local *gene* appear to have had no famous members at all – and many notable Athenian politicians did not belong to a *genos*. In light of this more complex and varied picture of the Athenian *genos*, Smith cautioned:

to whatever extent that Athenian families combined in kinship groups larger than the *oikos* and smaller than the phratry and tribe, such groupings cannot be defined under the monolithic formulations... even translating the word *genos* by clan may be highly misleading and particularly so in reference to the Archaic period⁸⁶.

We have no reason to assume that the origins and nature of the Athenian *gene* are relevant to discussions of Cretan society, yet Smith’s cautionary note concerning the uncritical use of the term “clan” is worth observing, particularly in light of the fact that the epigraphic record from Crete provides no clear evidence for mid-range kinship groups between the family and the tribe. Apart from the *startos*, whose nature remains obscure, we find neither terms for formal groups such as e.g. the *genos* or phratry nor names of the sort that might be identified as names of such groups, apart from two – *Prepsidai* at Dreros and *Kydanteioi* at Axos – where the contexts recommend other meanings⁸⁷.

To summarize our observations thus far, there is little evidence for formal private or public associations apart from the family and the tribe in Archaic and Classical Crete. The *andreion* is attested as a place where meals were provided at public expense, but details about its organization are almost unknown. Even less is known about the Gortynian hetaireia, although the provision in the Gortyn Code concerning adoption suggests that membership among the free native-born adult males of Gortyn may have been widespread. There is no evidence for the formal

85 Bourriot 1976, 694–696; 1349–1365; Lambert 1999, 486 f. although largely in agreement with the views of Roussel and Bourriot, identifies several difficulties with Bourriot’s formal typology of priestly-*genos* and *kome-genos*. He suggests a more fluid process that responded to the establishment of new communities or the reorganization of old ones, the foundation of new cults or the reorganization of existing cults, and the creation of new *gene*.

86 Smith 1985, 60.

87 Despite its denominative suffix -idā denoting descent, the coordination of *Prepsidai* with the city-ethnic *Milatioi* in van Effenterre – Ruzé 1994, 66 (Dreros, ca. 650–600 BCE) suggests that *Prepsidai* refers to a community in its political sense rather than to a kinship group. *Kydanteiois* (IC II, v, 9, lines 12–14: Axos, ca. 500–450 BCE) could be the neuter (τὰ Κυδάντεια) or masculine (οἱ Κυδάντριοι) dative plural: κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς | Κυδαντείοις διδόμεν τρίτο|ι φέτει τὰν βολὰν ἰς τὰ θύματα δωδέκα στατήραν, “In the same way, the *boule* is to give twelve staters for the sacrifices for the *Kydanteia* (or to the *Kydanteioi*?) every third year.” Neither term is otherwise attested. Scholars have suggested that the *Kydanteioi* could be the members of a *genos*, a tribe, or perhaps a group of priests.

clan and very little for the extended family as a significant social unit in daily life or in death. Instead, the essential associations appear to have been the nuclear family and the tribe.

II The Cretan Tribes: History and Memory

The discussion of Cretan society in the 6th and 5th centuries has to this point drawn on contemporary evidence for the social organization of communities, leaving aside all later sources, particularly the Late Classical and Hellenistic literary traditions concerning Crete that occupy the core of most modern treatments of the island and its people during the Archaic and Classical periods. “Back-reading” the later epigraphic record from Crete is also problematic; change in social structures and institutions is to be expected. This is not to say that Late Classical and Hellenistic inscriptions are useless as sources for Archaic and Early Classical Crete, but the case has to be made in support of their value. For example, several Hellenistic treaties between Cretan poleis include descriptions of the territorial borders of the parties to the agreement⁸⁸. Although the designation of a border as an “ancient one” should not be accepted at face value⁸⁹, the place names (oronyms, rivers, sanctuaries, gullies, hamlets, etc.) that trace the line of the border are likely to be early.

As noted above, the dating formulas of Late Classical and Hellenistic inscriptions from Crete preserve the names of tribes, both the three Dorian tribes and close to a dozen others. Evidence for tribal names in Archaic and Late Classical Crete is limited to the “*startos* Aithaleus” at Gortyn, which may or may not refer to the tribe Aithaleis attested in later inscriptions. Roussel has argued that the Greek tribes of the Archaic and later periods were not genuine personal associations that originated in the Dark Ages but developments of the ninth century BCE and later⁹⁰. According to Roussel, tribal names do not trace historical movements of peoples throughout the Mediterranean; rather they reflect local traditions concerning the foundations of cities and cults, ties between cities, and so on. Roussel cautions that known instances when the tribal organization of a city and the tribal names were changed make it impossible to trust any tribal name as an “original” one⁹¹. We cannot, then, claim with certainty that any or all of the tribal names

⁸⁸ For a discussion of the descriptions of borders in Hellenistic treaties from Crete, see Chaniotis 1996, 153–159.

⁸⁹ IC III, iv 9, lines 56–58 (Dragmos and Itanos, early third century BCE?); SEG 26, 1049, lines 60–62 (Lytos and Lato, ca. 219–184 BCE).

⁹⁰ Roussel 1976.

⁹¹ Roussel 1976, 259 f. 265–267; Kristensen 2002, 69 f.

attested in the Late Classical and Hellenistic inscriptions from Crete date back to the Archaic period or earlier. Yet, there is a distinctive pattern in the distribution of the Cretan tribal names that shows up in many of the Cretan communities where tribal names are attested. This is difficult to explain either in terms of local developments of the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods or as the consequence of imitation and peer polity interaction. Furthermore, other kinds of evidence, month names in particular, support the historical implication of the pattern that is suggested here, namely that the tribal names may reflect the deep history of the inhabitants of Archaic Cretan communities.

A Tribal Names

Fourteen tribal names are fully preserved in dating formulas of public inscriptions from eleven *poleis*⁹². The names of five tribes are attested at Gortyn, the most from any single city (Tabs. 1. 2). Aithaleis is one of two tribal names from the island for which Aeolic-Thessalian origins are suggested⁹³. The other, Ainaones, also occurs at Gortyn⁹⁴. Three other tribal names of Gortyn are known: Doric Dymanes, Archeia, a name that has been associated with the local cult figure Archos, whose sanctuary was located at Acharna on the border between Knossos and Tylissos⁹⁵, and Autoletai, a name that may be connected with Autolaos, son of the Arcadian eponym, Arcas, and great uncle of Gortys, *oikistes* of Gortyn according to Tegean tradition⁹⁶. The tribal names of Gortyn, then, evoke Aeolic-Thessalian, Doric, local Cretan, and Arcadian identities. Although we cannot assume that all five of the tribes attested at Gortyn were concurrent, as a group they do not seem to reflect the process that has been recognized in Peloponnesian Doric communities where one or two tribes were added to accommodate members of the community who did not belong to the three Doric tribes⁹⁷.

⁹² Partially preserved tribal names are attested at Axos ([-]τιδᾶν, IC II, v 28), Gortyn (Απ[...]υμα[-], IC IV 236; Δεκ[-], IC IV 171), Knossos (E[- ca. 8 -], IC IV 182, line 24), Leben ([-]έων, IC I, xvii, 4B1; [-]νάων, IC I, xvii, 4A), and Olous (Π[-], IC I, xxii, 8; [-]ων, IC I, xviii 9 + SEG 33, 134, lines 6–7).

⁹³ Maiuri 1911, 663–666 understood the tribal name as apokope of *Αἰγυθαλεῖς, “sucklers of goats”, and on the basis of the use of other forms of the name posited for it Aeolic-Achaian origins.

⁹⁴ Maiuri 1911, 666–668 linked the tribal name to the Thessalian Ainianes who represented an Aeolic-Achaian pre-Dorian segment of the population.

⁹⁵ The location of the sanctuary is indicated in the agreement of Knossos, Tylissos, and Argos (ML 42B, lines 27. 35–36). For the cult of Archos, see Sporn 2002, 135 f. (Chaniotis 1988, 159 f.; Chaniotis 1992, 313–315) proposes either a derivation from Archos or an adjectival form related to ἀρχά, suggesting that the latter would imply a privileged association similar to the tribal name Ἀρχέλαοι that Kleisthenes of Sikyon gave to his own tribe in the account of Hdt. 5, 68, 1.

⁹⁶ Perlman 2001, 65–67.

⁹⁷ Jones 1987, 220.

Tab. 1: Distribution of Tribes

[illegible]

This picture is not unique to Gortyn. In seven of the eleven Cretan *poleis* where tribal names are attested, at most two of the Doric tribes (Dymanes, Hylleis, Pamphyloi) occur together with other, non-Doric ones (Tabs. 1. 2). In some cases, it is possible to explain the distribution patterns. Gortyn and Leben, for example, share three tribal names: the local Cretan Archeia together with the Ainaones and Autoleitai, the latter two found at these two *poleis* alone. Leben was likely a dependent *polis* of Gortyn by the third century; if its population did not originate in Gortyn, perhaps it modeled its civic organization, by choice or under compulsion, on that of its dominant neighbor¹⁰⁰. The same may be conjectured in explaining the presence of the tribe Diphyloi¹⁰¹ at both Lyktos and Chersonasos¹⁰². The distribution of the tribe Archeia might be understood to reflect competing claims to the cult figure Archos by the leading *poleis* of Central Crete. The tribe Lasynthioi (“people of Lasynthos”) at Lyktos probably reflects local circumstances¹⁰³, as do the tribal names Kamiris at Hierapytna¹⁰⁴ and Pharkaris at Praisos¹⁰⁵. Finally, it is worth pointing out that the two Cretan tribal names associated with pre-Doric Peloponnesian heroes (Aischeis¹⁰⁶ and Echanoreis¹⁰⁷) are both attested at Lato. No connections have been proposed for the Latoan tribal name Synaneis.

98 Ἐ[χανορεῖς] restored in IC IV 182.

99 Π[άμφυλοι] restored in IC I, xxii, 8.

100 For the political status of Leben, see Perlman 1996, 248. 251; Perlman 2004, 1174. The community is attested in a Late Archaic to Early Classical agreement with Gortyn (IC IV 63), but there is little evidence for a settlement during the Early Iron Age or Early Archaic period.

101 Jones 1987, 227 f. compares Diphyloi with Dorian Pamphyloi, a tribe formed through the association of previously existing groups.

102 Lyktos and Chersonasos joined together in a *sympoliteia* in the 2nd century BCE (Chaniotis 1996, 430–432). Viviers 1994, 252 f. suggests that the two were politically linked already in the 6th century. Fragments of a 6th-century grave stele were discovered near the later (4th century) coastal settlement, otherwise the material remains from Chersonasos are Classical and later.

103 SEG 50, 937; IC I, xviii, 13 (previously restored Hyakinthios). Lasynthos is the ancient name of the Lasithi plateau. Κριτζάς 2000 suggests that the tribal name reflects the 6th-century expansion of Lyktos to the Lasithi plateau and the incorporation of its inhabitants into the citizen population of Lyktos.

104 The tribal name is probably linked with Rhodian Kamiros. See Jones 1987, 231 who comments, “the phyle might have comprised a stratum of the citizen population claiming descent from Rhodian colonists.”

105 Duhoux 1982, 248 suggests that the tribal name may be non-Greek Eteocretan, adducing the sequence αρκρ in IC III, vi, 1, an Eteocretan inscription from Praisos. Cf. Guarducci (*ad* IC, III, vi, 8) who associated this name with φράσσειν (“to fence in”) or with the Thessalian name Φαρκαδών.

106 Maiuri 1911, 668–670 suggested that this tribal name is related to the Samian phyle in Egypt, ἡ Αἰσχρινωνίη φυλή (Hdt. 3, 26, 1). The Cretan and Egyptian groups shared a common Samian descent from the original colonizers from Samos, namely pre-Dorian Ionians from Epidauros and Achaeans (Mycenaeans?) from Phleious.

107 Maiuri 1911, 670 suggested that this tribal name could be linked with the Megarian hero, Euchenor (Hom. Il. 13, 663; Paus. 1, 43, 5).

Tab. 2: Tribal Names with Ethnic Affiliations

I. Dorian Tribes

1. Δρυῖνες¹⁰⁷ (Dreros, Gortyn, Hierapytna, Lyttos, Olous)
2. Πάμφυλοι¹⁰⁸ (Hierapytna, Knossos, Olous?)
3. Ὑλλεῖς¹⁰⁹ (Knossos, Lato)

II. Local Cretan

4. Ἀρχία/Ἀρχεῖα¹¹⁰ (Gortyn, Knossos, Leben, Lyktos)
5. Λασύνθιοι¹¹¹ (Lyktos)

III. Aeolic (Thessalian)

6. Αἰθαλεῖς¹¹² (Dreros, Gortyn, Knossos, Malla)
7. Αἰνάωνες¹¹³ (Gortyn, Leben)

IV. Pre-Dorian (Achaian)

8. Αἰσχεῖς¹¹⁴ (Lato)
9. Ἐχανορεῖς¹¹⁵ (Lato, Knossos?)

V. Arkadian

10. Αὐτολήται¹¹⁶ (Gortyn, Leben)

VI. Rhodian

11. Καμυρίς¹¹⁷ (Hierapytna)

VII. "Composite" Tribe

12. Δίφυλος¹¹⁸ (Chersonasos, Lyktos)

VIII. Uncertain Affiliation

13. Συνανεῖς¹¹⁹ (Lato)
14. Φαρκαρίς¹²⁰ (Praisos)

108 Dreros: Marinatos 1936, 280 nos. 1. 2; Gortyn: IC IV 165. 182. 197; Hierapytna: IC III, iii, 9; Lyttos: IC I, xviii, 8; Olous: SEG 41, 770.

109 Hierapytna: IC III, v, 1; Knossos: IC I, viii, 14; IC IV 181; Olous?: IC I, xxii, 8.

110 Knossos: SEG 33, 728; Lato: IC I, xvi, 26. 32; SEG 32, 895.

111 Gortyn: IC IV 186B+187. 233; Knossos: IC I, viii, 10, SEG 33, 729; Leben: IC I, xvii, 8. 38; Lyttos: IC I, xviii, 12.

112 IC I, xviii, 13; SEG 50, 937.

113 Dreros: Demargne – van Effenterre 1937, 29–32, IC I, ix, 1A; Gortyn: IC IV 72, V, line 6; IC IV 167. 184. 259; Knossos: IC I, xvi, 3; IC IV 197; Malla: IC I, xix, 3A.

114 Gortyn: IC IV 196; Leben: IC I, xvii, 6.

115 Bousquet 1938, 405 no. 4; IC I, xvi, 29, 30.

116 Lato: IC I, xvi, 25, 31; Knossos?: IC IV 182, lines 23–24.

117 Gortyn: IC IV 261; Leben: IC I, xvii, 5.

118 IC III, ii, 1.

119 Chersonasos: SEG 41, 770; Lyttos: IC I, xviii, 9.

120 Bousquet 1938, 390 no. 1.

121 IC III, vi, 8.

Three observations emerge from this discussion of tribal names. First, the most discernible characteristic of the tribal organization of the Cretan *poleis* is the accommodation of Doric, non-Doric, and local Cretan tribal names. As Jones observes,

Given the even approximate validity of the assignments (sc. of tribal names to origins), the resulting historical reconstruction would show substantial numbers of pre- or non-Dorian Greeks dispersing over the island, eventually achieving an accommodation with the Dorians formalized in the institution of appropriately named phylai¹²².

In some cases the tribal names do seem to reflect local conditions of the sort Rousel emphasizes (local traditions, cults, relations between cities), but the broader pattern is more difficult to explain in these terms¹²³. Second, in no case is it possible to discern traces of a systematically local or artificial organization comparable, for example, to the five tribes of 4th-century Messene, named for the descendants of Heracles, a figure associated not only with the foundational myth of the Dorian Peloponnese, but also with Messenia's liberator, Thebes¹²⁴. Third, possibly already in the 5th century BCE some of the chief magistrates of Gortyn appear to have belonged to the non-Dorian Aithaleis. This observation belies acceptance of the picture of the sociopolitical organization of the Cretan *poleis* with their Doric aristocracies and pre-Doric serfs that is commonly entertained.

Yet, as noted above, we cannot conclude that all of the tribes attested at any single *polis* existed at the same time. The picture we observe may be diachronic; at some time in one or another polis the tribal names may have defined a more ethnically homogeneous community. Neither is it possible to conclude that the names are earlier than the Hellenistic period. The evidence of month names can help to clarify on both counts.

B Month Names

Months were often named for festivals, and cults, as Luraghi observes, "...were associated with ethnicity at least as closely as tribal names were"¹²⁵. This does not mean necessarily that the cultic contours of a community preserved a blueprint of its origins, real or constructed. Nonetheless, cult names from Crete – including divine epithets, the names of festivals, and month names – provide strong evidence for ethnic heterogeneity in cult of the sort traced above for the tribes. Again, as in the case of tribal names, the evidence for month names is for the most part Hellenistic. Thus, the same objections to their use as evidence for Archaic Crete as are raised above in connection

¹²² Jones 1987, 220.

¹²³ Roussel 1976, 259 f.

¹²⁴ Luraghi 2008, 230–232.

¹²⁵ Luraghi 2008, 232.

with tribal names might be raised here. Yet, the ethnic profile of the cults of the Cretan *poleis* as reflected in month names is not only as diverse as the tribal names, but the patterns of distribution of months and tribes on Crete and the ethnic and regional links that both tribal names and month names suggest are analogous. Taken together, the ethnic and regional affiliations of the month and tribal names and their patterns of distribution indicate that the largely Hellenistic evidence is neither misleadingly diachronic nor late, but instead may well preserve a record of early Crete.

In her 1997 study of Greek lunar calendars, Trümper defined their origins in time (the late Bronze Age) and space, arguing that many of the Greek month names can be identified as either Ionian, Doric (that is West Greek), or Aeolic. Concerning the thirty month names that are attested in the inscriptions from thirteen of the Cretan *poleis* (Tabs. 3. 4)¹²⁶, Trümper observes that the Cretan calendars are quite unlike the calendars of other West Greek areas and seem to reflect a remarkably complex history of settlement on the island. The record from Gortyn provides a good illustration of the complexity that Trümper noted¹²⁷.

Five month names are attested there (Tab. 3). (W)elchanios, possibly named for the festival of a pre-Greek Cretan divinity, occurs in a list of sacrifices of the 7th or 6th century BCE. It is found as well at Knossos and on Cyprus at Golgoi¹²⁸. Karneios is a Doric month; on Crete it is attested at Gortyn and Knossos¹²⁹. The month name Amyklaios occurs in the calendars of Gortyn and Argos¹³⁰. Mention in the Great Code of an image of Artemis Toxitis in the Amyklaion and the reference to the Amyklaioi and Gortynioi in a poorly preserved agreement from the Mesara, suggest that the month name reflects local conditions¹³¹. The month, the sanctuary, and the community of the Amyklaioi have all been adduced in connection with the tradition preserved by Conon that Laconians from Amyklai emigrated to Crete and settled at Gortyn¹³². If the month Amyklaios was named for a festival, the evidence leads us away from Laconian Amyklai, where Apollo Hyakinthios was worshipped, to Idalion Cyprus, where the cult of Apollo Amyklos is attested¹³³. Whencesoever the month name came to Crete and whatever religious significance we attach to it, it is likely to have had non-Doric (pre-Doric Achaian or even non-Greek) connotations. The month Ionios is not otherwise attested¹³⁴. Trümper offers no explanation

¹²⁶ See also Trümper 2001.

¹²⁷ Trümper 1997, 196; 2001, 237.

¹²⁸ Trümper 1997, 189 f. Gortyn: IC IV 3, line 1a–c; IC IV 184a, line 3; Knossos (Ἐλχάνιος): IC I, xvi, 3, line 2; Golgoi, Cyprus (*wa-la-ka-ni-o*): Masson 1983, 298 f. 417 no. 299.

¹²⁹ Trümper 1997, 125 f. Gortyn: IC IV 197, lines 7–8; Knossos: IC IV 181, line 5.

¹³⁰ Gortyn: IC IV 182, line 23; Argos: Piérart 1974, 776 no. 2; SEG 34, 282.

¹³¹ IC IV 72, III, 6–9; IC IV 172.

¹³² Konon FGtH 26 fr. 1, xxxvi. xlvii. See Perlman 2000, 67–71 for a more detailed discussion of the tradition.

¹³³ Perlman 2000, 69; Trümper 1997, 192 prefers the Laconian (pre-Dorian) connection.

¹³⁴ IC IV 181b, line 2.

Tab. 3: Distribution of Months

	Aptera	Biannos	Dreros	Eleutherna	Gortyn	Hierapytna	Knossos	Lato	Lyttos	Mallia	Olous	Praisos	Priansos
Ἀγριάνιος											x		
Ἀγυήιος							x						
Ἀλῖατος			x										
Ἀμυκλαῖος					x								
Ἀπελλαῖος											x		
Βακίνθιος								x		x			
(Φ)ελχάνιος/ Φευχάνιος					x		x						
[Δσ]μάτριος				x									
Δελφίνιος											x		
Διονύσιος												x	
Δικτυνναῖος	x												
Δρομήιος													x
Ἐλευσίνιος		x									x		
Ἡραῖος											x		
Θε/ιοδαῖσιος						x		x					
Θερμολαῖος								x					
Θεσιμοφόριος								x					
Ἰμάλιος						x							

of its cultic significance or its origins, merely noting *ho Ionios kolpos*, a name for the Adriatic sea¹³⁵. Finally, Leschanorios occurs at Gortyn and in Thessalian calendars. Trümper identifies the month as Aeolic¹³⁶.

Not only are the ethnic affiliations of the tribal names of Gortyn – Doric, local Cretan, pre-Doric Peloponnesian and Aegean, and Aeolic-Thessalian – reflected as well in the month names, but this same pattern in ethnic affiliation is born out elsewhere on Crete (Tabs. 1–4). Furthermore, the cumulative percentages of the same four affiliations of the tribal names of Gortyn (Tabs. 2. 4; I, II, III, IV) are surprisingly close to the cumulative percentages of those four affiliations of month

Tab. 4: Month Names with Ethnic Affiliations

I. Dorian

1. Ἀπελλαῖος¹³⁶ (Olous)
2. Βακίνθιος¹³⁷ (Lato, Mallia)
3. Δελφίνιος¹³⁸ (Olous)
4. Ἐλευσίνιος¹³⁹ (Biannos, Olous).
5. Καρνήιος¹⁴⁰ (Gortyn, Knossos)

II. Indigenous Cretan (pre-Greek 7–10, local 11)

6. Δικτυνναῖος¹⁴¹ (Aptera)
7. (Φ)ελχάνιος/Φευχάνιος¹⁴² (Gortyn, Knossos)
8. Κομνοκάριος¹⁴³ (Dreros)
9. Σαρτιωβιάριος¹⁴⁴ (Lato)
10. Δρομήιος¹⁴⁵ (Priansos)

III. Aeolic-Thessalian

11. Ἀγριάνιος¹⁴⁶ (Olous)
12. Λεσχανόριος¹⁴⁷ (Gortyn)

135 Trümper 1997, 192; Trümper 2001, 239. Aesch. Pr. 839–840 claimed that the sea was named for Io; some modern commentators have preferred the *ethnos* Iones. See Chantraine 1980 s. v. Ἴω, Ἴωνες.

136 Gortyn: IC IV 181, lines 17. 26; for the calendars of Meliteia and Skotoussa and the late calendar common to Thessaliotis, Pelasgiotis, and Hestiaiotes, see Trümper 1997, 256 f.

137 IC I, xvi, 4B, line 59.

138 Lato: IC I, xvi, 3, line 3; Malla: IC I, xix, 3, line 40.

139 IC I, xvi, 4A, line 22.

140 Biannos: IC I, vi, 2, line 39; Olous: IC I, xvi, 4A, line 8; IC I, xvi, 5, line 3.

141 Gortyn: IC IV 197, lines 7–8; Knossos: IC IV 181, line 5.

142 IC II, iii, 1, line 13.

143 Gortyn: IC IV 3. 184a, line 3; Knossos: IC I, xvi, 3, line 2.

144 IC I, ix, 1C, lines 106–107.

145 IC I, xvi, 4A, line 22.

146 IC III, iii, 4, line 5.

147 IC I, xvi, 3, line 4.

148 IC IV 181, lines 17. 26.

IV. pre-Dorian (Peloponnese & Aegean)

13. Ἀμυκλαῖος¹⁴⁸ (Gortyn)
14. Θε/ιοδαῖσιος¹⁴⁹ (Hierapytna, Lato)

V. Ionian

15. Ποσειδάνιος¹⁵⁰ (Hierapytna)

VI. widely attested

16. [Δα]μάτριος¹⁵¹ (Eleutherna)
17. Διονύσιος¹⁵² (Praisos)
18. Ἡραῖος¹⁵³ (Olous)
19. Θεσμοφόριος¹⁵⁴ (Lato)
20. Πάναμος¹⁵⁵ (Lyttos)

VII. Uncertain Affiliation

21. Ἀγυήιος¹⁵⁶ (Knossos)
 22. Ἀλιαῖος¹⁵⁷ (Dreros)
 23. Θερμολαῖος?¹⁵⁸ (Lato)
 24. Ἰμάλιος¹⁵⁹ (Hierapytna)
 25. Ἰόνιος¹⁶⁰ (Gortyn)
 26. Καρώνιος¹⁶¹ (Knossos) = Κορώνιος (Knossos)?
 27. Νεκύσιος¹⁶² (Knossos)
 28. Σπέρμιος¹⁶³ (Knossos)
 29. Ὑπερβοῖος¹⁶⁴ (Dreros)
 30. Φθινοπώριος¹⁶⁵ (Aptera)
-

names (Tab. 5). Doric tribal and month names comprise about forty percent of the total¹⁶⁷; names with local Cretan affiliation represent twenty-three (tribal names)

149 IC IV 182, line 23.

150 Hierapytna: IC III, iii, 7, line 20; Lato: IC I, xvi, 4a, line 7.

151 SEG 32, 871.

152 SEG 41, 744, line 7. Σταυριανοπούλου 1991, 34 f. notes that [Παντο]μάτριος is also possible.

153 IC III, vi, 7A, line 14.

154 IC I, xvi, 5, line 88.

155 IC I, xvi, 4B, line 58.

156 IC I, xviii, 9a, lines 4–5.

157 IC IV 197, lines 11–12.

158 IC I, ix, 1C, line 108.

159 IC I, xvi, 5, line 86.

160 IC III, iii, 4, line 4.

161 IC IV 181, line 3.

162 IC I, xvi, 4A, line 21; IC IV 181, line 28.

163 IC I, xvi, 4B, lines 56–57; IC IV 182, line 25.

164 IC I, xvi, 4A, line 6.

165 SEG 23, 530.

166 IC II, iii, 17.

167 Trümper 2001, 237 notes that one or more of the widely attested month names (Tab. 4: VI) could perhaps be regarded as Doric.

Tab. 5: Frequency of Tribal and Month Names of Ethnic Affiliations I-IV

		Tribal Names	Month Names
I.	Dorian	41% (9/22)	42% (8/19)
II.	Indigenous Cretan	23% (5/22)	31.5% (6/19)
III.	Aeolic-Thessalian	27% (6/22)	10.5% (2/19)
IV.	Pre-Dorian (Peloponnese & Aegean)	9% (2/22)	16% (3/19)

and thirty-one (month names) percent; those with pre-Doric and Aeolic-Thessalian affiliations together comprise the remaining thirty-six (tribal names) and twenty-six (month names) percent. The five tribal names and the fifteen month names that do not belong to one of these four affiliations extend the network to include Ionian and Arcadian nodes, in both cases representing less than one percent of the total number of occurrences of all tribal names and all month names.

Wallace attributes the evolution of what she understands to have been an “unusually tight kind of oligarchic system” characteristic of Cretan states from the late 7th century BCE through the Classical period to the emergence and consolidation of a narrow, clan-based elite that took root in Cretan society very soon after the Late Bronze Age collapse and persisted through the 5th century BCE¹⁶⁸. Wallace’s case for the remarkably stable social organization of its communities across the Iron Age rests in part on her rejection of the view that there was significant immigration to the island during the Early Iron Age¹⁶⁹.

The tribal names recorded in Late Classical and Hellenistic inscriptions of central and East Crete present a very different picture. Considered in isolation, one might reject the use of this late evidence for tribal names in reconstructing the early history and social organization of the Cretan communities. Yet if the ethnic affiliations that scholars have proposed for the tribal names and month names are mostly right, the broad patterns of ethnic affiliation and distribution that emerge through comparison of the two data sets support the value of this later evidence for early Cretan history and recommend a complex picture of the deep history of the inhabitants of Archaic Crete. The Doric element, to be sure, is dominant in the tribal organization of the central and east Cretan *poleis* and in their calendars¹⁷⁰. But at the same time these communities maintained *phyle* organizations and calendars that appear to evoke historical links with many non-Dorian Greek peoples and places, and they do so regardless of the process of their formation (continued settlement in the plain as at Knossos, Iron Age foundations as at Lyktos, or synoik-

¹⁶⁸ Wallace 2010, 345.

¹⁶⁹ Wallace 2010, 60. 81–86. 129 f. 155–157. 171 f. 189. 366–373.

¹⁷⁰ Only in the case of Olous are the tribal names (Dymanes and perhaps P[amphyloi]) and the month names (Apellaios, Delphinios, Eleusinos; cf. Agrianios, Heraios) almost entirely Doric.

ism as at Gortyn). We cannot, of course, claim to know how active these links were in the minds of the Cretans or how they explained the names of the units of their civic and calendric systems, but the widespread pattern of ethnic heterogeneity and the complex history it implies should not be overlooked in considering the development of communities in the Early Iron Age and Archaic Period.

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Giovanni Marginesu

Use, Re-Use and Erasure of Archaic and Classical Gortynian Inscriptions. An Archaeological Perspective

Since the last decades of the 19th century, the Archaic and Classical Gortynian inscriptions have been studied as documents of the civic life of the *polis*, as testimonia of the linguistic peculiarity of the Cretan dialect, and as landmarks in the history of the Greek laws¹. Written upon the walls of the buildings², they were also material and decorative parts of the monuments. When the temples and other buildings were restored or destroyed, the stones were re-used; in some cases, they were considered as inscriptions, and in other cases they were ignored or their scripts were erased and they were reused as simple blocks.

One of the most intriguing topics in Cretan epigraphy is the fate of those inscriptions. After a pioneristic paper by Margherita Guarducci³, this topic has been tremendously deserted. The present essay does not attempt to fill this gap, but it raises some questions in order to investigate the attitude in the selection and in the preservation of the inscribed blocks in Hellenistic and later Gortyn. It starts by discussing the use and the permanence of the inscriptions on their supports that are not modified or destroyed. Then it tries to study the moments of discontinuity in the story of the epigraphs and, foremost, the reuse, which refers to the phenomenon by which the inscriptions are not changed, but the destination and the position of the inscribed blocks are changed. Finally, the erasure of text is considered as an action to make room for another entry or to leave a blank space.

An archaeological approach appears to be valuable at this point: the fate of Archaic and Classical inscriptions has to be viewed against the background of the monuments' history. The following pilot study has to limit itself to the discussion of the most representative and best known Gortynian inscribed buildings: Pythion, Odeum (and its predecessors), Mavropapas building.

1

The temple of Apollo Pythios was built in the last decades of the 7th century BCE. An *oikos* stood on a crepis of two steps; the roof was supported by four wooden

Dr. Giovanni Marginesu, Dipartimento di Storia, Scienze dell'Uomo e della Formazione, Università degli Studi di Sassari, Via Zanfarino, 62, 07100 Sassari, Italy, gmarginesu@uniss.it

¹ For a recent bibliography on Gortyn, see Perlman 2004b; Marginesu 2005. For the years 2004–2010 see the numerous entries in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* and Chaniotis 2010, 17 f.

² Thomas 1996; Perlman 2004a; Marginesu 2010.

³ Guarducci 1938.

pillars encased in cuttings. In the Hellenistic period, a porch was added and a Doric facade was realized; the facade was divided by six half-columns and topped with a frieze which consists of alternating triglyphs and metopes⁴. This intervention is dated to the second half of the 3rd century; the cult statue should be placed between 250 and 221 BCE⁵. In Roman times, perhaps not beyond the age of Severus, the *oikos* was completely rebuilt. An apse was added; the interior was divided into three aisles by eight columns and the walls were rebuilt. Another intervention is dated at the turn of the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, perhaps after an earthquake⁶.

The story of the temple serves as the basic framework for the inscriptions' fate. From the 7th to the 6th century, the city laws were cut into the walls⁷. They were inscribed as retrograde, progressive and boustrophedonic texts "with a taste for the monumental"⁸. They are spread over numerous stones: IC IV 10 spreads over 44 stones, i.e. along the entire perimeter of the *oikos*. In the 5th century, a decree about *Latosioi* was inscribed on the Pythion walls⁹. From the first half of the 2nd century BCE, the temple *pronaos* accommodated four *stelai* reproducing the *polis* treaties. In Roman times, when the walls were rebuilt, the ancient blocks were reused presumably as building stones.

The relationship between the different epigraphical phases is not easy to follow. In the Archaic and Classical phases of the Pythion, there is no clear evidence of an organic and rational distribution of the inscribed laws. At the same time, leaving aside the cases in which the stones have been heavily damaged, it is not possible to identify intentional erasures of the texts. An exception is IC IV 10 p* r* q*: the inscription overlaps a more ancient one, but it may just be the result of a failure to correctly plan the writing.

In the 5th century, IC IV 78 was engraved in a free space at the bottom of the east facade, without erasing earlier texts¹⁰. So, the cutter of IC IV 78 respected the ancient texts. The decree, concerning people of minor status and their presence in the Latosion, may be considered contemporary to the famous Law Code¹¹, and the decision to protect *Latosioi* must have been in effect at that time. On the contrary, common sense suggests that despite their permanence upon the walls of the Pythion, the Archaic laws should not have been in use yet during the 5th century; for example, they mention fines expressed in staters, tripods and obeloi, clearly pre-

4 Di Vita, 2010, 120.

5 IC IV 179–186. See also Di Vita 2010, 120. The oldest document concerns the king Eumenes II (ante 183 BCE). On these documents see Chaniotis 1996.

6 Di Vita 2010, 121–126.

7 IC IV 1–40. See Marginesu 2005, 29–33; Di Vita 2010, 119 f. See also Ricciardi 1986/1987.

8 Davies 1996, 35.

9 IC IV 78, and perhaps also IC IV 79. For *Latosioi*, see Marginesu 2005, 73–75.

10 Bibliography in Marginesu 2005, 114 n. 6.

11 A selected bibliography on the chronology of the Law Code is presented in Marginesu 2004, 24–28.

monetary instruments of exchange and measures of value, while the Law Code introduced the use of coins¹².

We do not dispose of a solution for this coexistence of old and new inscriptions. Three different perspectives are possible. First, in Gortyn there is no evidence that any “overlapping” or “repetition” determined the erasure of the texts. As John Davies noted¹³, the rules engraved in IC IV 41 and IC IV 72 differ as to the purchasing of a slave (a case of overlapping); and IC IV 75A and IC IV 81 contain the same text, engraved in different places, without excluding each other (a case of repetition). Thus, the Pythion inscriptions should be allowed to survive although new enactments overlap them. Second, the permanence of the inscriptions might be explained by the symbolic and ideological conception of public and monumental writing. Third, if the red paint were removed, the ancient texts would still not be perfectly visible and some scripts would probably be regarded as unreadable¹⁴.

The condition of Pythion inscriptions in the Hellenistic age is dubious. In the 3rd century BCE, when the building was restored, a reconstruction of the walls of the Archaic *oikos* did not take place, and the attitude of the Gortynians in respect to the ancient Apollonion should have been “conservative.” Although the new porch was built so that the joint (with the ancient *oikos*) was as unclear as possible¹⁵, according to the current drawings of the temple, some inscriptions on the facade were partly obliterated, and the laws spread around the *oikos* (especially those upon the east wall) did not survive in their entirety¹⁶. Anyway, the insertion of the four *stelai* in the *pronaos* explains the basic change in epigraphic use. The reader’s attention must be captured by the new set of inscriptions, and the view of the temple is changed to a frontal perspective.

In the Roman age, the Archaic inscriptions disappeared: the blocks were re-used without restoring their order and the inscriptions sometimes faced inward. Furthermore, they were not visible, because the inner walls were rivetted with marble¹⁷.

Summing up, in the Archaic age there is no evidence for the practice of erasing the Pythion inscriptions; the texts were visible, if not readable, until the Hellenistic age. Only after the restoration in the Roman age did they disappear.

¹² Polosa 2005.

¹³ Davies 1996, 46 f.

¹⁴ See Meiggs, Lewis 1988, 65 no. 30: “letters would be regarded unreadable if the red paint were removed (Thuc. 6, 54, 7).” See also Marginesu 2010, 73 n. 9.

¹⁵ Di Vita 2010, 120.

¹⁶ Ricciardi 1986/1987, fig. 76.

¹⁷ Di Vita 2010, 123 fig. 158.

2

During the first half of the 5th century, a semi-circular or circular building was built¹⁸. If it was a *kyklos*, it must have had a diameter of 27 m¹⁹. It is plausible that the monument was a public building and it surely stood in the *agora* near the location of the subsequent *bouleuterion* and Odeum²⁰.

The *bouleuterion* was built in the 4th/3rd century BCE. Within the rectangular plan, it contained a semi-circle. The *bouleuterion* was destroyed in the second half of the 1st century BCE when, according to the communis opinio, the *kyklos* was spoiled²¹. Recently Di Vita noted that synchronism; he observed that the *kyklos* is unlikely to have survived until the 1st century and finally he correctly inferred that only a section of the 5th century building was preserved and reused in the *bouleuterion*. Then, it was spoiled²² and rebuilt in the Odeum, between the 1st century BCE and the 1st century AD. The Odeum was restored in 100 AD under the proconsul L. Eluphrius Severus²³. In the Severan age, the building was again restored.

The Law Code is inscribed upon a section of the 5th century wall, is made up of 31 or 32 blocks of limestone arranged in four layers, alternating cut and head blocks and it concludes on a door decorated with Ionic kymation. It occupies twelve columns each with 55–56 lines, except for XII, which only has 19 lines. The Law Code was first incorporated in the *bouleuterion* and, when the public meeting structure fell into ruin, it was recovered again in the 1st century BCE and incorporated into the Odeum²⁴. The blocks of the Law Code were ordered and numerated. The numbering of the blocks provides an important element that can be used to establish the reuse-sequence of the inscribed wall, but it also raises doubts and debate.

To the scholars' unanimous agreement, the numeral letters date to the 1st century BCE²⁵. So they were engraved when the Code had been stripped from the Hellenistic *bouleuterion* to be re-placed in the Odeum²⁶. But, if the Law Code was first relocated inside the *bouleuterion* in the 4th/3rd centuries, the blocks were reassembled without any numbering in this period. This fact is remarkable: the re-placement of an inscribed wall is difficult and it must be supposed that in the 4th to 3rd

¹⁸ Pernier 1925/1926; Di Vita 2010, 50.

¹⁹ Pernier 1925/1926, tab. V; Di Vita 2010, 44.

²⁰ See Pernier 1925/1926, 3. For the position of the Gortynian *agora*, see Marginesu 2005, 48–53; Di Vita 2010, 38 f. See also Whitley 2005, 41 f.

²¹ For a different view (the *bouleuterion* survived in the Augustan age) see Sanders 1982, 66.

²² Di Vita 2010, 42–52.

²³ IC IV 331.

²⁴ Marginesu 2004; Di Vita 2010, 44.

²⁵ Keyser 1987; Di Vita 2010, 107–119.

²⁶ Keyser 1987, 283–290.

centuries, more “ephemeral” systems were adopted to mark the position of the blocks before assembling. For example, the numeral letters may have not been engraved but painted.

According to the numbering system, the numerated wall was much more extensive than that found in Odeum excavations. In primis, the Code should contain lost blocks at the bottom, as seems to be demonstrated by a surviving stone numbered AI–E in the lower row of the wall (the four rows were numbered from top to bottom with A–Δ, and only this one is numbered with E). In secundis, a floating block may belong to the same wall of the Code²⁷. The stone bears the same numbering system as the Code; it carries the number MG, i.e. 43. According to Guarducci²⁸, it had to be placed at least 8 or even 20 columns over the Code, but Guarducci denied that the Law Code incorporated in the building of the 1st century BCE had such an extension; the blocks of the original Code were all numbered, but only a few (those which are now part of the Code) were finally replaced. The remaining ones were put aside to be used later for other constructions²⁹. Di Vita agrees that the Law Code was “cut out” and time after time was shortened by eliminating the last row of blocks and a large section (at least 9 if not 21 columns of writing); but he guesses that this operation occurred after the 1st century BCE, during the restoration under Trajan or later³⁰. Guarducci’s hypothesis (reduced extension of the Code from the 1st century BCE), and Di Vita’s (full width of the Code until a later age) are divergent but they agree on one important point: in the 4th to 3rd centuries BCE, a large section of the Code (12+20 or 12+8) was still visible.

Before leaving this problem, I would like to introduce further elements useful to this discussion. From the 4th to 3rd centuries, the *bouleuterion* accommodated not only the Law Code, but also other inscriptions in the north and east walls. They date from the 6th to the 5th century and they belong to an Archaic building placed in or near the *agora*³¹. The story of these inscriptions is a hard one. Some of them were erased³² and others were preserved. Among them is also a long sequence of laws, IC IV 41, the so-called Little Code, which had at least eight columns. Thus, that meeting place may have displayed (and saved) a great portion of the Archaic laws.

The strangeness of the case does not stop here. While a few inscriptions were placed and restored in their original order (Law Code), others came in no particular order, exactly as they emerged from the excavations. IC IV 41 was rebuilt without any ordering and the slabs seem to have been used as building material. Surpris-

²⁷ Di Vita 2010, 117.

²⁸ See also Willetts 1967, 4.

²⁹ Guarducci 1938.

³⁰ Di Vita 2010, 107–119.

³¹ Di Vita 2010, 43.

³² See e.g. IC IV 47. 48.

ingly, nobody wonders if the Small Code was relocated in the *bouleuterion* in its original order and done so “on purpose”, and if it was then displaced at a later stage. The non-existence of numbering on the blocks of the Little Code neither confirms nor excludes this hypothesis; in the 4th to the 3rd century, the Law Code might also have been rebuilt without numbering the stones.

A problem of great importance is at stake. If a large excerpt of the ancient legal texts was visible there, the *bouleuterion* would have been considered to some degree a “Museum of Memory.” A memorial and ideological task may have been emphasized in the 4th century, whereas until now the main purpose for preserving the Law Code was identified with the vindication of one’s self-awareness and cultural roots in opposition to the Roman presence in the 1st century BCE³³.

Contrary to this view, the Roman age seems to have been, even on archaeological grounds, a time of progressive reduction of the epigraphic memory. In the 1st century BCE, the new building lost much of its Archaic writing; the Little Code and other documents were possibly relocated without any composition planning and were no longer readable; according to Di Vita, the extension of the Law Code was further reduced. Moreover, the Code was relocated to a dark passageway in the back section of the Odeum. Finally, the Archaic inscribed stones were embedded in a not specifically political-governmental place.

3

An early Christian basilica was built in the area called Mavropapas using the stones surviving from an Archaic inscribed building. The earliest inscriptions date to the late 6th or to the beginning of the 5th century³⁴. Some blocks are well preserved, but others are too fragmentary to be taken into account. The remains do not allow a detailed restoration of the plan but only a reconstruction of the masonry, which consists of limestone slabs; the upper stones show a projecting element, suggesting that the facade was divided by parastades.

Anyway, we can sketch an architectural overview of the remains (Tab. 1) that, instead of following the order of the *Inscriptiones Creticae*, starts from the corner blocks (1–3) and ends with the slabs at the bottom (4–8). We can also collect data regarding the diachronic process of inscribing and erasing inscriptions and com-

³³ I do not discuss here the thesis of Gorlin (1991). According to her, the Law Code and its enactments were valid during the Roman age. That hypothesis is not perfectly persuasive. See also Di Vita 2010, 119.

³⁴ After the papers of Federico Halbherr in 1897 and the publication of the IV volume of *Inscriptiones Creticae*, the Mavropapas construction and its inscriptions deserved little interest. See Baldini Lippolis 2002 (on the Christian basilica); Di Vita 2010, 39 (on the Archaic/Classical building).

Tab. 1: The inscriptions of Mavropapas: chronology and contents

-
1. corner stone. IC IV 80: decree concerning the Rhitennians (500–450 BCE); IC IV 162: decree on bronze coinage (250–221 BCE); IC IV 210 *proxenia* (1st century BCE)
 2. corner stone. IC IV 160 (4th century BCE); IC IV 204 *proxenia* (3rd century BCE); IC IV 203 *proxenia* (3rd century BCE); IC IV 223 *proxenia* (1st century BCE)
 3. corner stone. IC IV 163 Law (3rd century BCE); IC IV 165 decree (3rd century BCE); IC IV 202 *proxenia* (3rd century BCE)
 4. slab. Law IC IV 90 (5th century BCE); *proxenia* 209 (2nd century BCE)
 5. slab. Law IC IV 91 (5th century BCE); *proxenia* 208 (2nd century BCE.)
 6. slab. IC IV 214 *Proxenia* (1st century BCE); IC IV 220 *proxenia* (1st century BCE); IC IV 231 (4th to 3rd century BCE)
 7. slab. IC IV 206 *proxenia* (1st century BCE)
 8. slab. Law IC IV 81 (5th century BCE)
-

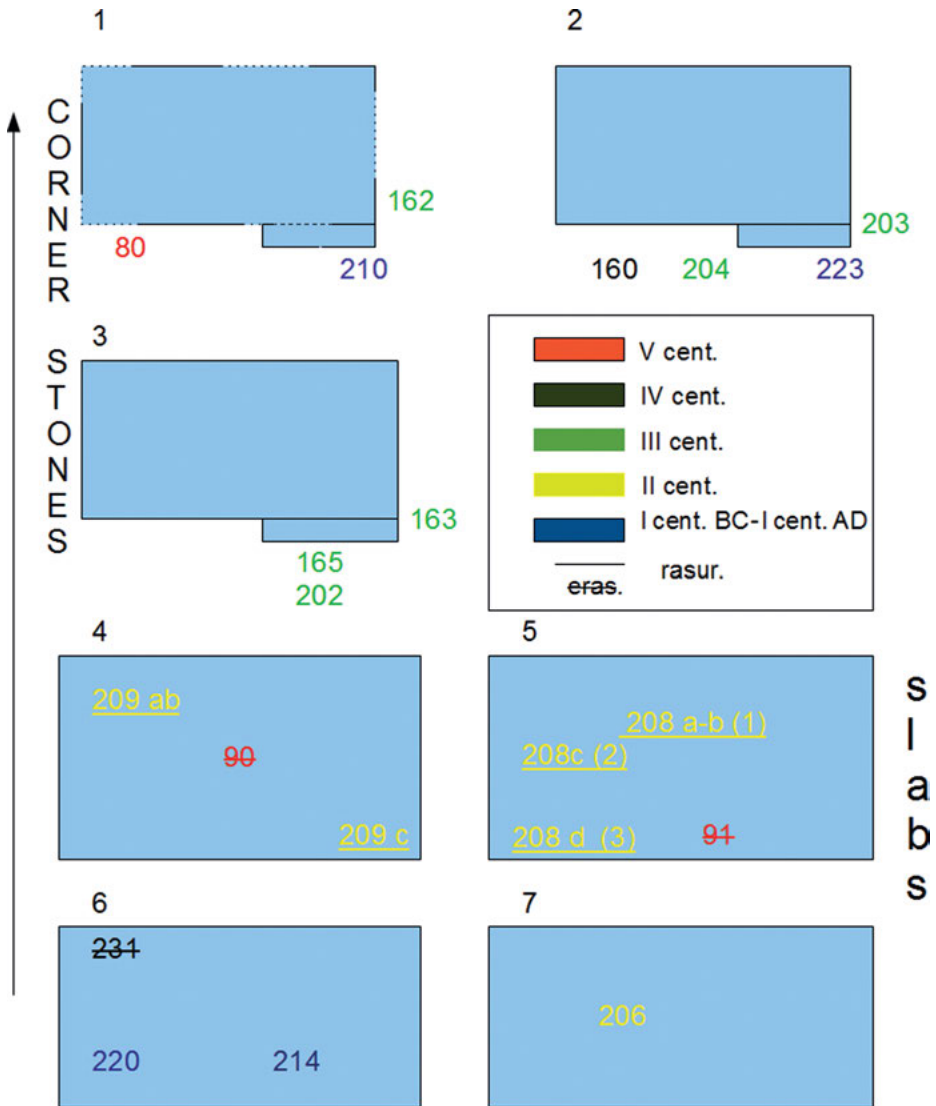
pile it in a synchronic table (Tabs. 2. 3). Analyzing Tab. 1, it is important to note that the epigraphic use of the walls occurred over a long time: it began at the end of the 6th century or perhaps from the beginning of the 5th century and it continued until the 1st century BCE, when earlier texts were erased and new ones were engraved. At the same time, it is necessary to add a few observations about the chronology and the “stratigraphy” of engraving and erasing the inscriptions as shown in Tab. 2.

The erased texts concentrate on limestone slabs nos. 4–6, at the bottom of the building. The upper blocks do not show traces of the erasing of previous texts³⁵. Furthermore, many of the most recent texts are engraved on the parastades of the building, in particular IC IV 165 and 202, dating to the 3rd century, and IC IV 210 and 223, dating to the 1st century BCE. The pilasters probably remained without any inscriptions until a late period. The original purpose could be to frame the writing between smooth pilasters. The other 3rd century inscriptions are often carved in restricted and tight epigraphic spacing.

None of the text from the 4th and 3rd centuries seems to have been engraved before erasing previous inscriptions; only texts dating to the 4th and 3rd centuries have been deleted; the subsequent texts have remained intact. The beginning of the erasure must be dated to the 2nd century. Subsequently, the inscriptions on limestone slabs were erased, more specifically the inscriptions from the 2nd century: IC IV 208 and 209 erased IC IV 90 and 91, dating to the 5th century.

Tab. 3 demonstrates that in the 5th century, laws were displayed on the building, but a principle of unit seems hard to find. In the 4th and 3rd centuries, decrees

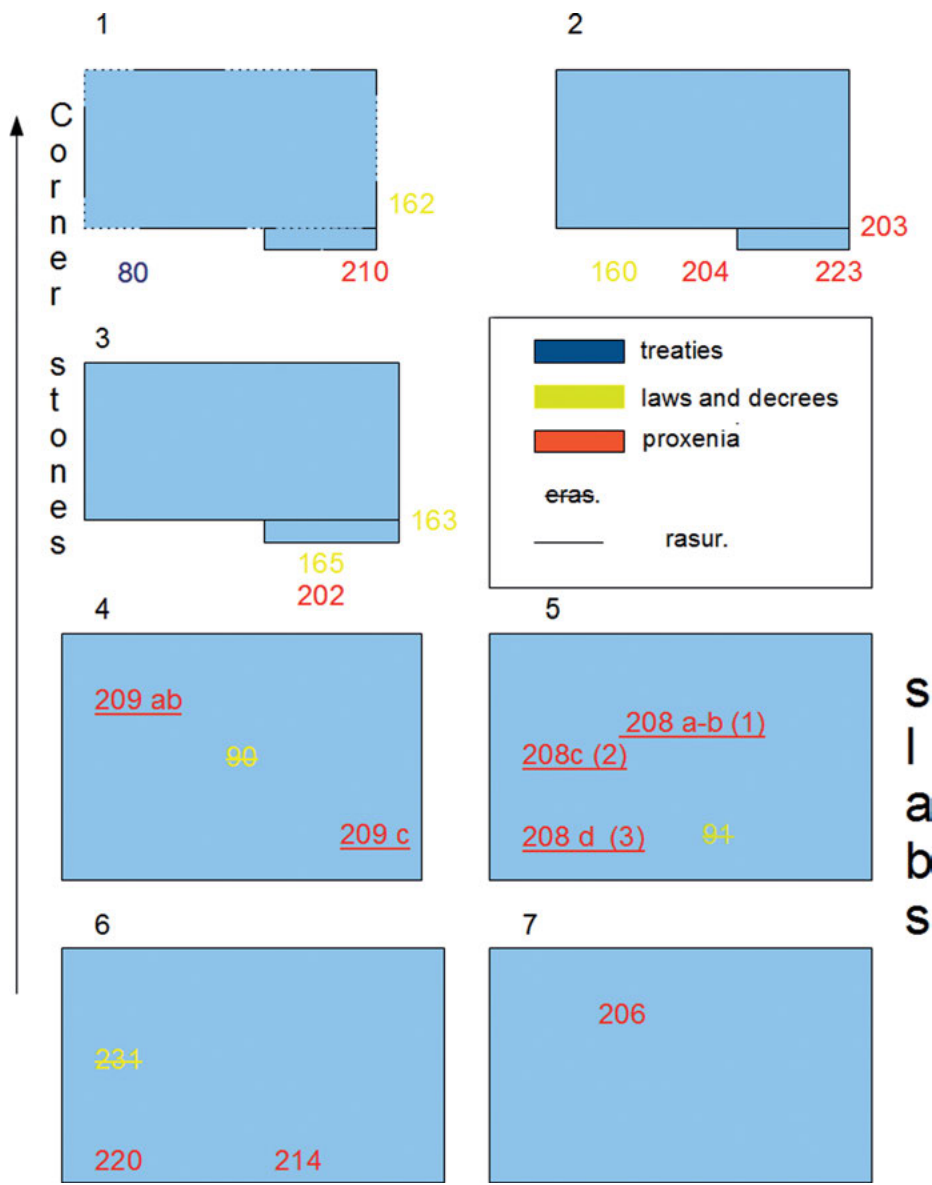
³⁵ See IC IV 160 (4th century BCE) and IC IV 162. 163. 165. 202–204 (3rd century BCE).



Tab. 2: Mavropapas. Epigraphical phases

were recorded: IC IV 162 and IC IV 165³⁶. From the end of the 3rd century, only *proxenia* texts were entered. This thematic unit is interesting. The decision, or rather the “practice”, to accommodate *proxenia* inscriptions on the walls of Mavro-

³⁶ IC IV 162 is the decree on bronze coinage, IC IV 165 is the decree on the relationship between *ano* and *kato polis*.



Tab. 3: Mavropapas. Typologies of epigraphical texts

papas seems to have developed at the end of the 3rd century BCE³⁷ and it seems to confirm that in the Roman age, the stones of Mavropapas belonged to the same

³⁷ Note that the erasure of the earlier texts to make room for *proxeniai* seems to have gained momentum from the 2nd century BCE.

building. This suggestion is confirmed by the (above demonstrated) internal logic of using the walls as a space to engrave the new texts, and it may demonstrate that the cutters did not work on reused slabs, but on slabs still part of the “original” building, which stood without any major remodeling until the 1st century.

Summing up, the “epigraphic frequentation” of the Mavropapas walls took place over a long time: it began at the end of the 6th century or perhaps at the beginning of the 5th century and continued until the 1st century BCE. In this respect, compared to Pythion, *kyklos* and *bouleuterion*, Mavropapas is absolutely distinctive: we must record an epigraphic continuity from the Archaic age until the Roman age. Throughout this time, inscriptions were engraved on the exterior walls (in the case of the Pythion, from the 2nd century BCE the inscriptions were exposed on *stelai*). This special case, therefore, can be explained on the assumption that the building was not subjected to restoration or reconstruction over the time period under consideration. It remained in use; the Mavropapas building must have been a very significant monument of the *polis*³⁸.

4

When studying the principal and the best known inscribed monuments of Archaic and Classical Gortyn, an epigraphic trend clearly emerges and more can be said about the attitude of Gortynians toward erasing and reusing inscriptions.

In the Archaic and Classical age, the erasure of inscriptions is almost unusual. The Gortynians respected the ancient writing of the buildings and maintained it as long as possible. This habit extends to the Hellenistic age, when, despite a remodeling of the city monuments and new urban planning³⁹, the ancient inscriptions remained in situ, just like the Pythion inscriptions, still visible if not readable. The superb ancient texts, just like the Law Code and (probably) the Little Code were displayed again in the *bouleuterion*, so they were not only saved, but their ideological centrality in civic life was reaffirmed.

The decisive turning point in the epigraphic history of the buildings occurred at the end of the 2nd century. In this phase, the ancient inscriptions of the Pythion disappeared; the *bouleuterion* was destroyed and a lot of epigraphic texts were simply not taken into consideration when rebuilding the Odeum; the Law Code is probably the last surviving coherent section of a larger text.

The same trend may be perceived in the epigraphic history of the Mavropapas building. There – as suggested – no violent destruction or remodeling forced the

³⁸ I am aware that this statement brings up a great topographical question. I'll discuss it in another paper in preparation.

³⁹ Di Vita 2001.

Gortynians to sacrifice the epigraphic apparatus of the building. Before the 2nd century, the new inscriptions were engraved in the remaining free spaces; at the turn of the 2nd century, the walls of the building were used without preserving the Archaic and Classical texts.

In that phase, the Mavropapas building shows the end of an epoch, the loss of interest in the Archaic laws. Something had changed, and the survival of the Law Code in a dark back passage of the Odeum has the taste of compromise, rather than that of a renaissance.

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Katja Sporn

Graves and Grave Markers in Archaic and Classical Crete

Historical Crete generally plays a minor role in the discussion of common Greek versus regional traditions. This paper deals with the graves and grave markers of Archaic and Classical Crete, confined to the time span from the 6th to the 4th century BCE, i.e. after the Orientalizing period. Although the focus of my research deals with grave reliefs¹, I will try to incorporate them in the context of contemporary graves and other funerary markers in order to gain a better understanding of their original appearance.

In the 7th century BCE, Crete experienced an extraordinary wealth of burial goods and funerary monuments. The outlay of the Orthi Petra necropolis at Eleutherna with rich communal stone monuments has been well known since the excavations by Nikolaos Stampolidis², but the picture changes all over Crete in the 6th century BCE. According to Antonis Kotsonas and Brice Erickson, the funerary rites at Eleutherna changed dramatically during the years 600–575 BCE³. The amount of grave goods declined and the graves included only a few clay vases and occasionally an imported krater. In the second half of the 7th century BCE the funerary urns became more uniform in shape. Also, the pithos graves of the time after ca. 600 BCE occur at the edges of the excavated cemetery and count for a lower status of the individuals buried here. Clusters of burials occur until the first quarter or half of the 4th century BCE. The pithos burial is, according to Erickson, the main burial type of the 6th century BCE, not only at Eleutherna, but all over Crete⁴. But what exactly do we know about the period of the 6th to the 4th centuries BCE on Crete?

Graves

In general, only very few necropoleis of the 6th to the 4th centuries BCE have yet been excavated, though towards the end of that period the indications of graves become more numerous. Unfortunately none of the graves excavated has been fully

Prof. Dr. Katja Sporn, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen, Fidiou 1, 10678 Athen, Greece, katja.sporn@dainst.de

¹ A study of Cretan grave reliefs from Archaic to Roman times is in progress, see the preliminary reports, Sporn 2009; Sporn 2012.

² Stampolidis 1990; Stampolidis 1998; Stampolidis 2004, 116–143.

³ Kotsonas 2002; Kotsonas 2008; Erickson 2010.

⁴ Erickson 2010, 252.

published, so we have to rely on the scarce references in the archaeological reports. The first one to collect the data on graves of that time was Antonis Kotsonas in an article from 2002⁵. Thanks to Brice Erickson, important parts of the ceramic material in question have recently been studied and thus we have better knowledge of chronological issues, but still no plans of the graves themselves⁶. Although Kotsonas' list of some 37 sites with evidences for graves from the 6th to the 4th centuries BCE is impressive and seems to contradict the older idea of a lack in that period, a closer look shows that the indications are nevertheless still very scarce. Kotsonas collected evidence from 15 cemeteries (the other material belonging to rather individual burials)⁷ (Fig. 1): at Kydonia (Classical), Phalasarna (6th–4th centuries BCE)⁸, Kastello Varipetrou (6th–4th centuries BCE; Erickson 5th–4th centuries BCE⁹), Tarrha (5th–4th centuries BCE; Tzanakaki: starting in Archaic times¹⁰), Aptera (Classical, Tzanakaki: Archaic-Classical¹¹), Beelitiko (Classical), Tsi Porous (Classical), Eleutherna (6th century BCE), Stavromenos (4th century BCE¹²), Axos (6th – 4th centuries BCE¹³), Itanos (Classical, according to Erickson starting in Late Archaic, 525–500 BCE¹⁴), Agia Pelagia (5th century BCE¹⁵), Lasaia (4th century BCE¹⁶), Prinias (6th century BCE), Phaistos (Classical). Since none of these cemeteries is fully published, an overview of the exact amount of 6th to 4th centuries BCE graves is lacking.

⁵ Kotsonas 2002 with appendix p. 62–64.

⁶ Erickson 2010, 249–257.

⁷ Kotsonas 2002, 62–64, add a Late Classical (together with an Early Hellenistic) burial at Kissamos, Πωλογιώργη 1981; Σκόρδου 1997, a cist grave of the late 4th or early 3rd century BCE at Kalathaines in Enneachoria, Σκόρδου 1997, 36 f., a Late Classical cist grave at Selli Kissamou, Gondicas 1988, 152–154. Neither Kotsonas's list nor my minor additions intend to be exhaustive.

⁸ Gondicas 1988, 102–103 (pithos burials and rock cut pit burials); Erickson 2005, 637; Erickson 2010, 252 fig. 10.4: Archaic burials are pithos containers, cessation in settlement and graves around 470/450 BCE, restart around 410/400 BCE, many 4th century BCE graves.

⁹ Erickson 2010, esp. 251 tab. 10.1; 230 (grave goods from the time 500–475 BCE are Attic or Laconian imports, Cretan cups begin at the end of the 5th century BCE).

¹⁰ Τζανακάκη 2013.

¹¹ Τζανακάκη 2011.

¹² According to more recent investigations at Stavromenos in 1999, discussed by Kapranos on the 11th Cretological conference at Rethymnon in 2011, there are indications for Late Geometric to Archaic and Late Classical to Hellenistic ceramics from the area.

¹³ See now Τέγυ 2010.

¹⁴ According to the report on the website of the Belgian University at Brussels (http://crea.ulb.ac.be/Itanos.html#nouveau_programme), the graves stopped at the end of the 7th century and were reused from the late 4th century BCE onwards and in the Hellenistic period, see also Greco et al. 2002, 581 f., according to Erickson 2005, 639, the burials continued at least down to mid 5th century BCE.

¹⁵ The indications do not refer to a necropolis, but to a single grave, see Αλεξίου 1972, 620.

¹⁶ The extensive necropolis of Lasaia has been looted and never thoroughly investigated. Although some grave reliefs found in the sea close to Lasaia and its hinterland belong to the 4th century BCE, the known parts of the necropolis itself seem to date to the Hellenistic times, see Αλεξίου 1965, 555; Blackman – Branigan 1975, 28–36.

Distribution of Necropoleis and Grave Reliefs during Archaic and Classical Times

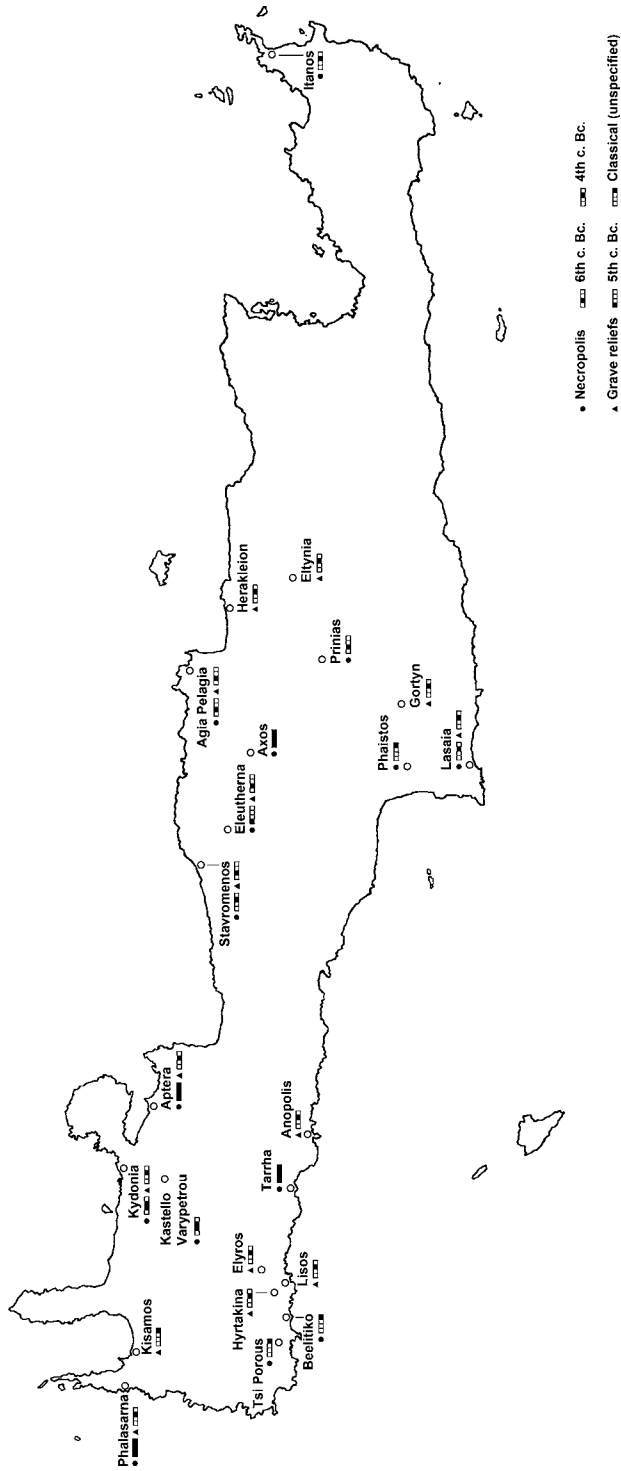


Fig. 1: Distribution of necropoleis and grave reliefs on Crete during the 6th to 4th centuries BCE

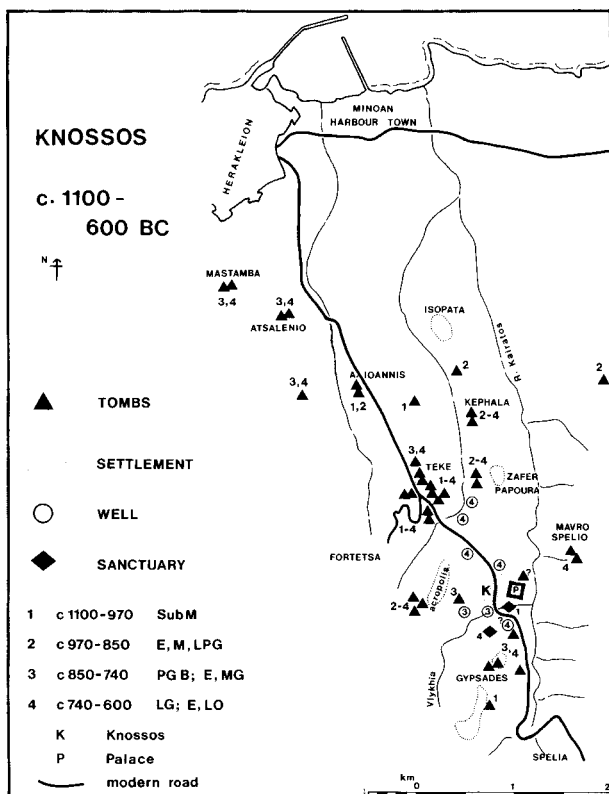


Fig. 2: Map of Archaic-Classical Knossos

Let us first take a closer look at the chronological range of the evidence. There are no traces of extensive burials dating to the 6th century BCE in the later big Cretan poleis Kydonia, Knossos, Gortyn. But there are some traces from the 6th century BCE especially at Phalasarna and Eleutherna¹⁷. Knossos, on the other hand, offers little evidence of the graves of the two periods in question (Fig. 2)¹⁸. Despite intensive surveys in the area, there are only very weak and arguable indications for two or three burials from the Archaic period (630–520 BCE). Furthermore, the old tombs in the North Cemetery have been abandoned and the area was not chosen for interment again before the Hellenistic period. The area seems to have been used rather as a dumping ground for rubbish from the settlement, as Nicolas Coldstream and George Huxley assumed. Single sherds from Eastern Greece, Corinth and Attica

¹⁷ Erickson 2010, 42–114. 250: probably the remains of disturbed graves, although funerary meals cannot be excluded.

¹⁸ Coldstream – Huxley 1999, 294–296; Erickson 2010, 249 n. 68.



Fig. 3: Itanos, bases of grave stelai in situ in the Hellenistic cemetery

found in the tombs might reflect the activity of early tomb robbers. Erickson¹⁹ tends to interpret this scarce material as the remains of funerary meals or ritual drinking at the tombs of ancestors, a habit which can be testified on Crete only during Hellenistic times²⁰, but even if we presume it to be earlier, the single sherds cannot be interpreted in terms of burials.

Even in the 5th century BCE “the dead remain elusive”, as Coldstream and Huxley wrote in 1999 on Knosos²¹, but this is true for wide parts of Crete. The Fortetsa tombs seem to have been reused for burials from the late 4th century BCE onwards, although a pithos burial contains an Attic Black Figure skyphos dating to around 500 BCE. At Kydonia a Classical necropolis was located south of the ancient town, but possibly two other necropoleis southeast and east of the town were already in use at that time, though the exact dates are missing (Fig. 3)²². Here at Kydonia a few graves from the 5th century BCE have been investigated²³, among

¹⁹ Erickson 2010, 42–114. 250.

²⁰ Although at Itanos a building within the necropolis seems to have been used for that purpose, see Brisart, this volume.

²¹ Coldstream – Huxley 1999, 295.

²² See the general map of the ancient city: Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 1996, 30 f. fig. 32; 39 f., further Πωλογιώργη 1985.

²³ Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 1999, 153 (double cist grave with two monolithic larnakes in Polyrrhenias Street, early 5th century BCE); 163 (cist grave 425–400 BCE in Polyrrhenias St.)

them a double cist grave holding two monolithic sarcophagi which date to the Early Classical period, but there seems to be a gap between 460 and 425/400 BCE²⁴. Similar gaps occur at Kastello Varypetrou and Eleutherna²⁵. At Kydonia (as on Crete in general), from the late 4th century BCE and the Hellenistic period, graves become more numerous²⁶, and double cist graves were still being built or in use.

Burial Types

Different types of burials have been recorded in Archaic and Classical Crete:

1. pithos burials, following a tradition of the Iron age, still existed less extensively in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE; they are mostly known in the western part of the island, but have been found in Central Crete as well²⁷.
2. pit graves, also following an old tradition, have been found in various parts of Crete²⁸
3. cist graves, often covered with one or more slabs, do not seem to start before the 5th century BCE²⁹, but are common from the 4th century BCE onwards
4. rock-cut cist graves are known in the areas where soft limestone prevails. They seem to start in Late Archaic times³⁰

²⁴ Erickson 2005, 637 (460–400 BCE, but see previous note).

²⁵ Erickson 2005, 637: Kastello Varypetrou: 480–400 BCE, Eleutherna 475/450–425/400 BCE; Erickson 2010.

²⁶ E.g. Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2009, 108–113 (Peace and friendship of people park, 35 graves, mainly late 4th century BCE). 129–151 (late 4th century, mainly Hellenistic, see esp. 151 fig. 9: five tile graves, three pit graves and one double cist grave of the 4th century BCE).

²⁷ Classical pithos burials: Phalasarna: Τζεδάκις 1969, 433 f. (43 graves, both pithos burials and cist graves); Kastello Varypetrou: Τζεδάκις 1969, 431 (Late Archaic to Classical necropolis), Tsi Porous: Gondicas 1988, 58–61; Eleutherna, see n. 25 above. For a Late Classical pithos burial at Chersonnesos see Μανδαλάκη 1999, 255 fig. 22. At Aptara, the pithos burials started in the 8th century BCE. Until mid-6th century BCE, large-scale pithoi were used, whereas the 5th century BCE examples are smaller, see Τζανακάκη 2011, 379 f.

²⁸ Phalasarna: Τζεδάκις 1969, 433 f. (43 graves, both pithos burials and cist graves); Kydonia: Νινιού-Κινδελή 1991, 411 (five pit graves of the 4th century BCE); Δροσινού et al. 1994–1996, 199 f. (pit grave of 350–300 BCE); Chersonnesos: Γκαλανάκη 2006, 12, 19 fig. 1 (Late Classical/Hellenistic pit grave). Further fragments of undecorated grave stelai: Τζεδάκις 1972, 638 (from Polyrrhenia, allegedly Classical), Αλεξίου 1969, 402 (fragment of a palmette stele from Lasaia).

²⁹ Kakodiki Selinou: Τζεδάκις 1976, 368 (Classical cist grave); Kouneni: Μαρκουλάκη 1987, 563–566 (two cist graves of the 4th century BCE); Kydonia: Δροσινού et al. 1994–1996, 199 f. (cist grave of mid-4th century BCE); Μαρκουλάκη 1994, 719 (cist grave of the 4th century BCE), both with multiple burials; Aptara: Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 1988, 549–551 (two cist-graves of the 4th century BCE); Tarrha: Τζεδάκις 1971, 511 (part of a Classical necropolis with 30 cist graves, see Τζανακάκη 2013); Elounda: Δαβάρας 1978, 389 (cist grave, late 4th century BCE).

³⁰ Stavromenos: Τσιποπούλου 1983, 368–370; Sphakaki: Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 1981; Eleutherna/Alpha: Τέγου – Φλεβάρη 2010 (with references to the Roman graves of this type in Lappa/Argyroupoli); Aptara: Τζανακάκη 2011, 376 f. 380 (Late Archaic to Hellenistic, mainly Hellenistic).

5. tile graves are not common³¹
6. clay sarcophagi rarely occur in Central Crete around Lyktos during Archaic or rather Classical and Late Classical times³²

It is too early to draw any general conclusions about the social status of the grave holders, but the rare occurrence of sarcophagi and this more expensive type of burial seem to predict a somewhat higher status of the grave holders. The indications for graves normally refer to single graves or small grave clusters³³. Erickson has already noted this shift from large communal monuments in the 7th century BCE at Eleutherna and Prinias to individual burials, which seem to have been common until the 4th century BCE. The picture changes in the Hellenistic period when graves become abundant. The social aspect of these individual burials will be discussed later.

Grave Markers

Only very few of the graves still bear witness to the kind of grave marker which stood above them. In Chania, for example, an unpublished marble stele with aetoma but without relief or inscription has been found above a pit grave from the second half of the 4th century BCE³⁴. In the necropolis from the late 4th century BCE and Hellenistic times of Itanos, some bases for *stelai* have been found in situ above grave groups (Fig. 3)³⁵. Although not preserved in situ, there are two known groups of grave markers from the Archaic and Classical period: inscriptions on various kinds of stone monuments and grave monuments with figural decoration. I will first refer to the inscribed monuments without figural representations before discussing sculpted monuments.

31 Agia Pelagia: Αλεξίου 1972, 620 (grave covered with tiles, 5th century BCE).

32 Λεμπέση 1975, 341 f.; Erickson 2002, 54–56; Erickson 2010, 252 with a lower date of the ceramics 6th century BCE sarcophagus from Aphrati down to the late 5th century BCE; see also the Late Classical clay sarcophagus from Kastamonitsa, Λεμπέση 1976b, 353 pl. 276 a.

33 As mentioned for the rock cut cist graves at Stavromenos, place Konidi: Τσιμπούλου 1983, 368–370. But for the time between 600 and 480 BCE Erickson 2010, 250 names explicitly only five burial groups: Phalasarna, Castello Varypetrou, Eleutherna, Praisos and Itanos, in the 5th century BCE there are some more from Kydonia.

34 Δροσινού et al. 1994–1996, 199 (Chania, Tzanakaki St., close to Valaoritou street, excavation 1992, second half of the 4th century BCE). A fragment of a grey-red marble stele with the word ΑΠΙΣ has been found in a disturbed grave of the second half of the 3rd century BCE in the Giamboudaki Street (Grave 3): Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 1999, 161.

35 See Greco et al. 1998, 592–597; Greco et al. 2000, 549–551.

Inscriptions

Cretan grave inscriptions start sporadically in the 7th century BCE³⁶, while there is only one example from the 6th century BCE, the base of a grave monument from ca. 525 BCE at Chersonnesos³⁷. Only very few grave inscriptions belong to the early 5th century BCE. One is from Gortyn and two are from Kydonia³⁸. They always name a single person: twice a man, Sotimos in nominative at Gortyn and the formula *Automedeos emi* at Kydonia, and twice a woman. The Kydonian inscriptions are in Aeginetan dialect and possibly refer to the Aeginetan inhabitants of Kydonia. An early 5th century BCE inscription from Kydonia mentions the funerary monument and reads *sama Melissidos emi*³⁹. The inscriptions are on square blocks which could have been put on the grave as single monuments or they might have been built in some kind of structure, but since they were all found out of context, this remains unknown. An inscription with a single female name dating to the 4th century BCE is again from Kydonia⁴⁰, another marble grave stele found in Elyros names *Euphron*(–)⁴¹. There are no more definite grave inscriptions from the 4th century BCE, but two epigrammata⁴² and some fragments of marble slabs with fragmentary inscriptions or plain *stelai* which might have been painted with a now vanished inscription have been noted⁴³. Although they have not been collected systematically, they do not seem to have been common. Generally speaking, inscribed grave monuments were therefore not widespread in Crete in Archaic and Classical times.

³⁶ See the overview by Whitley 1997, 651. The earliest dedication, possibly on a statue-base, dates to the second half of the 7th century BCE and comes from Chersonnesos (Guarducci 1967, 191 no. 7 fig. 62; SEG 29, 821, 1; SEG 52, 849), but it remains uncertain whether a grave statue (Guarducci) or a votive statue in a sanctuary was meant (I owe this information to A. Oikonomaki). A block from Axos measuring 68 x 58 cm bears a male's name (Athermos?, 6th – 5th centuries BCE, IC II v 8) and might have been a gravestone as well. See as well the Eleuthernaean inscription Σταμπολίδης – Οικονομάκη 2009, 296–304 figs. 3–6 drawings 2–4 esp. 304 n. 16 (the only Archaic grave inscription from Crete apart from the one from Eleutherna is IC II x 13 from Kydonia).

³⁷ Sokolowski 1969, 316 no. 20 pl. 60.

³⁸ Kydonia: IC II x 7 (*Automedeos emi*), IC II x 10 (*Kallidika*, female name), IC II x 13 (*sama Melissidos emi*) see Whitley 1997, 649–660; Perlman 2002, 197; Erickson 2005, 635; Erickson 2010, 292 (taking Kallidikas as a male name but this does not exist). The Kydonian inscriptions are in local Kydonian dialect, connected to the Aeginetan, see Sokolowski 1969, 314.

³⁹ The word *sama* does not occur in later inscriptions on Crete, neither does *mnama*. Only in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE the word *mnameion* is encountered three times in a grave inscription, IC I viii 29 (Knossos, 1st century BCE); IC II vi 5. 6 (Kantanos, 2nd century BCE).

⁴⁰ Kydonia: IC II x 10.

⁴¹ Αλεξίου 1964, 150 no. 1 (late 5th century BCE); Τζεδάκις 1965, 570 no. 6 pl. 720 a (date in the early 4th century BCE), SEG 25, 1031; Baldwin Bowsky 1997, 202 (accepts Late Classical date). The letters cannot be discerned on the photograph published.

⁴² Hansen 1989, 131 f. nos. 677. 678; for the Hellenistic epigrammata see Martínez Fernández 2006.

⁴³ E.g. Αλεξίου 1964, 150 I 2 (five fragments of marble slabs with inscriptions of various periods, collected at Elyros).

Free-Standing Sculpture

Free-standing sculptures are rare in Archaic Crete – and in pre-Roman Crete in general⁴⁴. But in Eleutherna, there were statues on the graves as early as the 7th century BCE: the lower part of a female limestone statue (ca. 650 BCE) has been found in the Orthi Petra necropolis, closely related to the dame d'Auxerre⁴⁵. Furthermore, the lower legs of a limestone kouros with footwear have been found at the same site⁴⁶. This is one of only four known kouroi on Crete in general⁴⁷. Again, Eleutherna seems to be an exception in this regard, but it follows up with the Cycladic, especially Thera tradition of setting up 7th and 6th century statuary at graves.

In Classical times, no free-standing funerary sculpture is known. All over Greece this type of grave marker became rare from the Early Classical period onwards, but became common again in some areas, predominantly in Athens, in the second half of the 4th century BCE as part of the sculptural decoration of monumental naiskoi⁴⁸. These naiskoi are largely unknown to Crete, but some fragments found in various areas might point to their existence in Eastern and Central Crete. In a dump from the Hellenistic period in the area of a necropolis at Kydonia two high quality marbles of the 4th century BCE have been found, but they are still unpublished⁴⁹. Another slightly smaller than life-size female head from the second half of the 4th century BCE found at Herakleion was part of a naiskos, due to the type and the coarse modelling of the back side of the head⁵⁰.

Grave Monuments with Figural Decoration: Incised *stelai* and Reliefs

More numerous are grave monuments with figural depictions. The earliest ones are the Archaic incised slabs from Prinias⁵¹. I will not refer to them intensively, but

⁴⁴ Compare Sporn 2014.

⁴⁵ Stampolidis 2004, 235 f. no. 252.

⁴⁶ Stampolidis 1990, 398 f. fig. 25; Stampolidis 2004, 237 no. 255.

⁴⁷ Erickson 2010, 7 n. 28.

⁴⁸ Still basic: Collignon 2011; furthermore Vedder 1985.

⁴⁹ Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2009, 156 (just mentioned: “a bust of a female figure with a himation that covers the head and the second of a young male figure”).

⁵⁰ Λεμπέση 1969, 418 figs. 427 b. c. See aswell n. 68 below.

⁵¹ See the publication by Λεμπέση 1976a. For an earlier, unpublished Cretan grave stele with incised decoration and a bird in relief, from Pantanassa Amariou, see Τέγου 1998, 875 f. (cordial thanks go to Eva Tegou for this information and a general discussion on the topic).

since I consider them as funerary and not heroic, as has been proposed⁵², I just want to emphasize some points.

1. They date to the 7th century BCE, according to Lebessi to the period between 680/70 and 610/600 BCE.
2. They depict both males and females, although males are more common. The most common male figural motive is the one of a warrior (15 examples, corresponding to the notion of male citizen), but there is also a seated male figure on a throne of east-Syrian influence, referring to a “high-status mature person, possibly a magistrate”⁵³. The female figures are always depicted standing and equipped with a distaff (showing the married woman with a domestic symbol) or holding a wreath or a bird. The meaning of the wreath is unclear (wedding wreath or a religious attribute), while the bird leads to a general interpretation of young age and indeed the female figures have long hair and seem to be young (*parthenos*).
3. The slabs were not free-standing, but incorporated in some kind of a funerary monument, although the reconstruction by Lebessi remains tentative. Furthermore, it remains unknown whether they were built into these monuments as single slabs or in groups.
4. The monuments were locally made, although strongly influenced by Ionian and Oriental art.
5. Be that as it may, this kind of monument is confined to two generations and to Prinias. The recipients of the monuments remain unknown.

Only one other incised funerary monument is currently known from Archaic Crete: A small pillar with a height of 103 cm height has been found in the necropolis of Eleutherna. A male figure turning to the left with a long shaft in his hand can be discerned according to the publication⁵⁴. It has been dated tentatively to the 7th century BCE.

There is a gap until the beginning of the 5th century BCE. But altogether 38 grave monuments date to the 5th and 4th centuries BCE⁵⁵. The majority of them either depict women or were intended for them (the ratio of female to male is 27:13), but this does not mean that the man played a minor role in the funerary iconography. In fact, the female figure is quite redundant on Cretan reliefs, while more attention was given to the male figure.

⁵² Boardman 2006, 8, see further Ridgway 1977, 164. 180; Boardman 1978, 165 figs. 32, 1–4; Adams 1978, 41–49; Blome 1982, 48; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 227; Koch 1996, 105–112 figs. 3–30.

⁵³ Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 227.

⁵⁴ Stampolidis 2004, 239 no. 258.

⁵⁵ The following is based on a chapter in the author’s unpublished Habilitationsschrift, Sporn 2009, 148–155.

Two marble grave reliefs date to the latest Archaic period (490–480 BCE)⁵⁶. The one from Eltynia depicts a standing woman with flower and wreath, the second attribute being already known from the Prinias stele. The architectural form with the cavetto capital as well as the garment recalls older Attic memorials, but it has close links to Cycladic art as well. The second one from Eleutherna is reminiscent of the Attic form of the grave pillar, but the depiction of the warrior with a big shield occurs in the Ionian Cycladic art as well. They are both made of local limestone and thus are local Cretan works.

In the second half of the century, there are two imports in Parian marble which both date to around 440 BCE. The first has been found in Stavromenos where an extensive cemetery has been detected⁵⁷. It depicts a naked youth with strigilis, aryballos and bird, accompanied by a dog. Again we see the notion of the *mors immatura*, this time not in the iconography of a warrior, but in the peaceful depiction of an athletic youth. The motive is known from Ionic island *stelai* and can also be found later in Attic art⁵⁸. A peculiar aspect is the depiction of a bare tree which occurs even in Ionian art later. The second relief from Agia Pelagia depicts a seated naked youth with a quiver, a hunter, an Ionian island motive which occurs later in Attica as well⁵⁹. These two are the only Classical grave reliefs found so far on Crete which date to the time before the Attic series of graves reliefs started in last third of the century. Both of them were found on the north coast of Crete and were imports from a Parian workshop. Most likely, they already served as grave monuments in their first use on Crete, since both of them were found in areas where nearly contemporary graves of the same date are known.

The picture changes in the last quarter of the 5th and the 4th centuries BCE. Altogether 32 figured grave monuments belong to that time span, though they become more common only from the second quarter of the 4th century onwards. They are mostly freestanding reliefs, rarely grave blocks and flanks or reliefs of grave naiskoi. The influence of Attica in style and iconography becomes strongly visible by now. Some of the reliefs are probably even imported from there. I prefer to say “probably”, because even when Attic marble is used, this does not lead directly to

⁵⁶ Both reliefs are published by Lebessi 1973. For a very high dating in the 6th century BCE of the Eleutherna relief see Erickson 2010, 8 n. 29. For the Eltynia relief Erickson 2010, 8 n. 29 proposes a mid 6th century date (see also Sjögren 2003, 139).

⁵⁷ Rethymnon, Arch. Mus. Inv. 81; Ξανθουδίδης 1920/1921, 163 f. fig. 13; Kirsten 1936, 21 f.; Benton 1937, 42 pl. 4; Lippold 1950, 115; Κώστογλου-Δεσποίνη 1979, n. 305. 378; Woysch-Méautis 1982, 125 no. 267 pl. 40; Wegener 1985, 160. 318 no. 188 pl. 30, 1 (for the tree trunk). For the cemetery see n. 30 above.

⁵⁸ Compare a stele in the Museum of Chalkis on Euboea: Βλασσοπούλου 1981; CAT 1.348.

⁵⁹ Herakleion, Arch. Mus. Inv. 145; Benndorf 1903; Rodenwaldt 1913, 319 fig. 3; Langlotz 1927, 141 no. 18; 144; Pfuhl 1935, 20 n. 2; Benton 1937, 42; Lippold 1950, 176; Kirsten 1936, 22 f.; Despinis 1962, 44 f. (with a discussion of the figural type and the occurrence in the islands and in Attica); Andronikos 1962, 263 f. fig. 3; Κώστογλου-Δεσποίνη 1979, 93 f.



Fig. 4: Grave relief from Crete in the Louvre, Ma 814

Attic workmanship, since Attic marble had been commissioned in many parts of Greece for both architecture and sculpture. And even grave reliefs which had been imported from Attica might have been reworked⁶⁰. From the point of view of the recipient in Crete, it was not important whether the relief had actually been made in Attica, but that it looked like Attic, since Attica was the point of reference in arts and culture at that time.

Two quite similar reliefs can be dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BCE or around 400 BCE (Figs. 4, 5). They both represent a woman with a child holding a bird and thus show a new iconographical aspect: the dead woman as mother. The specific motive is Attic, although the mother-and-child theme was already known in Ionian island art from the early 5th century BCE⁶¹. The relief in the Louvre

⁶⁰ For rework and reuse of Attic grave reliefs see especially Schmalz 1998; Schmalz 2001.

⁶¹ See now Μποσνάκης 2003–2009.



Fig. 5: Grave relief from Lasaia, Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 471

(Fig. 4)⁶² could be Attic. The one found close to Lasaia in the Messara (Fig. 5)⁶³ is very similar in topic, but different in style and single motives. The pleats are much broader and thicker, as if it was not the fine Attic chiton that was meant but a far heavier garment. Further differences are in the length of the himation which reaches to the ankles in depictions of Attic women (only servants wear knee-length). Another peculiar aspect is the row of round curls framing the face. This is known

⁶² Paris, Louvre, Inv. Ma 814 (commissioned before 1891 on Syros, allegedly from Crete); Charbonneaux 1963, 116; Woysch-Méautis 1982, 40 f. pls. 22, 127; Παπαϊκονόμου 1988; Hamiaux 1992, 150 no. 143; CAT 1.694; Benson 1996, 61–71.

⁶³ Herakleion, Arch. Mus. Inv. 471; Alexiou 1968, 402; Pini 1968, 39 f. pl. 4; CAT 1.708.

from Ionian art or art under Ionian influence⁶⁴. Certain features denote low workmanship, such as the thick sole of the shoe and the vain effort to depict three-dimensionality in the footrest. The sculptor of the relief from Lasaia therefore took over an Attic motive, associated it with some Ionian features (the curls, the throne-like seat) and changed the length of the garment as well. And even the gesture of the left hand has something of the dramatic spirit of Ionian art: not the anakalypsis is shown here, but the woman leads the hand to the head, as if she is overwhelmed by the child standing in front of her.

Since the second quarter of the 4th century BCE, the two sexes are represented together on grave reliefs, a development which follows Attic models as well. On Attic grave reliefs, the topic of the family becomes more and more important⁶⁵. On Crete, no more than two generations and grown up couples with an older generation are not yet recorded, but there are representations of couples, sometimes together with a child (i.e. a nuclear family). This is noteworthy, because despite the Attic importance of the notion of family generations and the existence of big families, this is neither a central topic of the grave reliefs on Crete nor of other areas in Greece at that time⁶⁶. The specific Attic topic of the family had been followed up only in two other areas of Greece, and even there rarely: on Crete and in Macedon, which has been strongly influenced by Attic art from the second half of the 4th century BCE onwards. Crete is strongly oriented towards Attic art not only in this respect. Two Cretan grave reliefs name several persons⁶⁷, another peculiar feature of the Attic graves reliefs. This probably means that the reliefs were intended for the memory of more than one person. Even fragments of statues nearly in the round and large reliefs intended for naiskoi as well as flanks of small naiskoi have been found⁶⁸, furthermore some late stelai with sunken relief (so-called *Bildfeld-*

⁶⁴ Compare e.g. a grave relief from Pydna, Kostoglou-Despini 1988. For characteristics of Ionian art compare Pfuhr 1935; Hiller 1975.

⁶⁵ See the various interpretations of that topic by Humphreys 1993, 1–23 (separation of *polis* and *oikos*); Leader 1997, 683–699 (demonstration of the inner cohesion of the *oikos*, stressing the “domestic concern”); Bergemann 1997 (genealogical tree); especially Closterman 2007 (unity of the family as opposed to the public); Marchiandi 2011.

⁶⁶ See extensively Sporn 2009, also Sporn 2013.

⁶⁷ A mid-4th century BCE relief from Western Crete in Kassel names the depicted two men and the woman, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe Inv. Alg 243 (F. Naumann in: Gercke 1981, 167–172 no. 80 fig. 169; Clairmont 1989, 217 f. pl. 99; CAT 3.403a; Bergemann 1997, no. 471; N. Zimmermann-Elseify in: Gercke – Zimmermann-Elseify 2007, 324–326 no. 107) and a slightly younger fragmentary relief from Western Crete in the Arch. Mus. of Chania Inv. 142 names two men and a woman along with their father’s names (Baldwin Bowsky 1997).

⁶⁸ For the fragments of nearly three-dimensional heads found in Kydonia and Herakleion see n. 49–50 above. A fragment of a female head of a large relief from Aptera is housed in South Hadley, Mount Holyoke College (Galt 1917, 143–145 figs. 1. 2), another one comes from Gortyn (Herakleion, Arch. Mus. Inv. 427, to be published by the author). Judged by the missing aetoma, a relief from Hyrtakina in the Museum of Chania (Inv. L 76, CAT 2.433b) might stem from a naiskos as well. Furthermore, the two relief fragments re-used as spolia in the church of Agios Pavlos in Prodromi

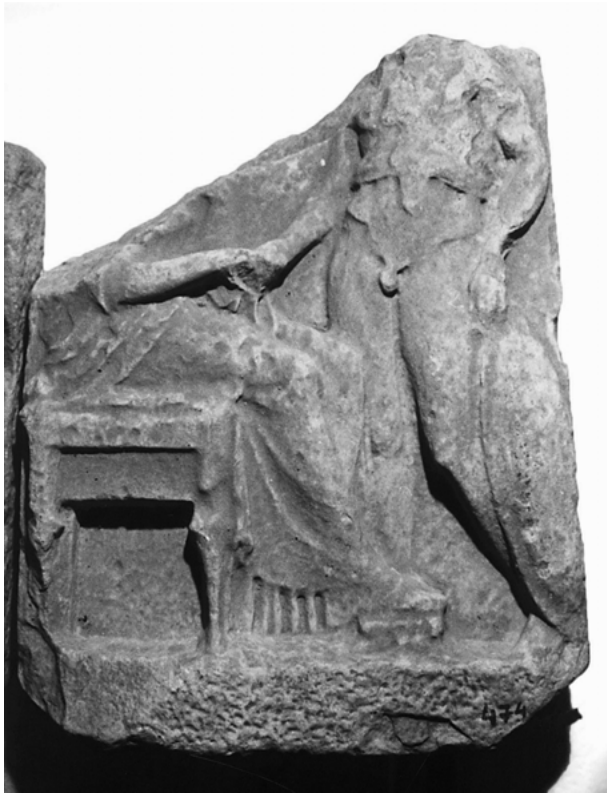


Fig. 6: Grave relief from Lasaia, Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 474

stelen)⁶⁹, a typical Attic shape and even if found outside Attica mostly decorated in Attic iconography. These representations sometimes include servant figures, which, on Attic reliefs since the second half of the 4th century BCE, were intended to describe the largeness of the *oikos*. Since the 4th century BCE there have been no representations of single persons on Crete, whereas all the earlier reliefs showed single persons.

Since the 4th century BCE male figures appear mostly together with women. In Attica, the typical garment of the men on grave reliefs is the *himation*: the man

(Papaoikonomou 1981), probably coming from ancient Lissos, were lateral slabs of a small-scale *naiskos*.

⁶⁹ E.g. a fragment found in Kydonia (Chania, Arch. Mus. Inv. L 125, 375–350 BCE; CAT 3.387 c; Prinu 1996, 361 Kr 2 pls. 51. 101. 108. 204), another one found at Aptera (Chania, Arch. Mus. Inv. L 131; late 4th century BCE, Daux 1961, 895 f. fig. 2; Scholl 1996, 84 n. 563), as well as a fragment with an anthemion from Anopolis (Chania, Arch. Mus. Inv. L 159, mid-4th century BCE, to be published by the author).



Fig. 7: Grave relief from Herakleion, Herakleion, Archaeological Museum 378

is thus represented with the typical behaviour of a citizen⁷⁰. This garment is not that widespread on Crete, but there are other dress codes. The chitoniskos is common here, which denotes the man in the garment he wore when he was outside of the city. A single relief found in the sea close to Lasaiia shows a man dressed only in an animal skin together with a woman (Fig. 6)⁷¹ – something close to impossible in Attica, where the adult was always dressed when depicted in female company.

⁷⁰ See e.g. Osborne 1996; Bergemann 1997; Himmelmann 1999.

⁷¹ Herakleion, Arch. Mus. Inv. 474 (375–350 BCE); CAT 2.371 c; Himmelmann 1990, 60 n. 121.

Something very unusual is the large relief from Herakleion which had been discussed intensively by Paul Zanker in the 1965 (Fig. 7)⁷². It depicts a bearded man standing, dressed in chitoniskos, and accompanied by a *pais* carrying an aryballos and holding a tablet, while a smaller woman next to the man offers him a small cist with the lid open. The iconography is strange on the whole: a young girl is normally not grouped with an elderly man, and after the Archaic period *pais* with athletic instruments accompany only young men, whereas a cist would be more suitable in connection with a maiden and a woman rather than as offered from a girl to a man. The peculiar Cretan depictions of men in chitoniskos are common in Central Crete (Gortyn, Lasaia, Herakleion) and the remote Western Cretan cities (Hyrtakina, Lissos). The reliefs from North-Western Crete (Aptera and Kydonia) so far depict only women. These reliefs are mostly Attic in style and bear no typical Cretan features. This corresponds with the very strong Attic features (imports and local ware) of the painted pottery found in that area⁷³.

A last word on the size of the reliefs: Cretan reliefs were generally rather small. Nearly half of the Classical ones (17) were not larger than 100 cm, 12 were between 100 and 150 cm in height, while only a few were larger than 150 cm. The largest examples come only from the bigger and more important cities such as Aptera, Herakleion and Gortyn. Even the reliefs which were set up in built naiskoi (although not preserved) were confined to Aptera, Gortyn and Kydonia.

Conclusion

Although the archaeological record concerning Archaic and Classical graves and grave markers is still far too scarce to allow a general picture, the information has increased during the last decades due to excavations and studies of related monuments, inscriptions and ceramics. Despite missing evidence for graves with associated grave markers, separate investigations in the graves on the one hand and the grave markers on the other, may lead to some conclusions as to the visible layout of the graves. Cremations, both collective, as was common from the 11th to the late 7th centuries BCE, and individual, as popular from the 7th century BCE, cease in the early 6th century BCE⁷⁴. From that time on no more attention was given to cremation and the connected rites at the funeral, the disposal of the dead body during the public cremation. Now more modest kinds of inhumations (cist graves, rock-cut cist graves, smaller and less impressive pithos burials) are preferred. According to the rare occurrence of individualized grave markers (both in-

⁷² Herakleion, Arch. Mus. Inv. 378 (375–350 BCE); Zanker 1965, 145–160 fig. 1; Eckstein 1984, 19 f. fig. 9; Kurtz – Boardman 1985, 137; Bruns-Özgan 1989, 187; CAT 2.897.

⁷³ Τζανακάκη 2001; Erickson 2010; Τζανακάκη 2011, 386 f.

⁷⁴ Kotsonas 2002, 42–44, see Erickson 2010, 46 on Eleutherna.

scriptions and figural monuments), elite display seems to have vanished and gave way to what has been called “middling ideology”, which has been connected to the rise of the *polis*⁷⁵.

A change has been visible since the late 5th century and especially in the 4th century BCE. Graves become more numerous (i.e. archaeologically visible) in the later part of the 4th century BCE and especially in Hellenistic times. Nevertheless, both the Late Classical grave reliefs and the grave inscriptions were mainly associated with single persons or (since ca. 375 BCE) couples. There are rarely more than three members of a family depicted or even named. Especially in some of the coastal cities in Western Crete (Kydonia, Aptera, Lissos) and in Gortyn, a true Attic kind of sculpted memorial was favoured, without specific Cretan details in the motives. Instead, at Herakleion and in remote areas of south-western Crete and Lasaia, the Attic type of grave relief was altered with some local features especially concerning male garment and individual connections of different iconographical motives, but the reliefs are still atticizing in style. As far as can be judged by the names known from the rare grave inscriptions, the reliefs were intended for Cretans and not for Athenians or other foreigners⁷⁶.

Thus, there seems to be a shift from single elite commemoration in the 7th to the early 6th centuries BCE to the burials reflecting a middling ideology in the 6th to the late 5th centuries BCE and then to group or family commemoration in the late 5th and the 4th centuries BCE. But still, these groups seem to be small and were confined to mostly two generations. This is in sharp contrast to the Attic memorials, where common burial grounds of three generations or more were common in the Late Classical period, but corresponds to various other parts of the Greek world⁷⁷. There is no information on the question of different kinds of grave markers being set up in groups on the graves, i.e. grave reliefs along with inscriptions, as was usual at the Kerameikos in Athens. Altogether, individual commemoration seems not to have been widespread due to the scarce evidence of Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic grave inscriptions. On the whole, the comparatively small amount of grave markers tends to imply only limited interest in individual representations visible above the graves. The Cretan society had changed, and individual or family representation was only rarely sought. Since reliefs were more expensive than other possible signs of grave markers, including stone cairns and perishable material, they were intended for middle and higher classes.

The thorough excavation and publication of further Archaic and Classical graves on Crete, especially with regard to the duration of burials in the burial grounds, has to be awaited in order to draw further conclusions on the social aspects of Cretan society.

⁷⁵ Morris 1987, 11–18; Morris 1998; Kotsonas 2002, 44.

⁷⁶ For Attic-type grave-monuments associated with Attic kleruchs abroad see Marchiandi 2011.

⁷⁷ See Sporn 2009 and Sporn 2013.

Illustration Credit

- Fig. 1: K. Sporn, mapped by M. Del Negro
 Fig. 2: after Coldstream – Huxley 1999, 290 fig. 1
 Fig. 3: after Greco et al. 2000, 550 fig. 2
 Fig. 4: © Erich Lessing/Erich Lessing Kunst- und Kulturarchiv
 Fig. 5–7: Photo K. Sporn

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Oliver Pilz

Narrative Art in Archaic Crete

Introduction

This paper deals with a specific aspect of the material record of Archaic and Classical Crete, the scarcity of narrative imagery. The term “material record” is used very consciously here referring to the archaeologically detectable remains of what is commonly called material culture. It is indeed necessary to differentiate between these two realms because we cannot safely assume that the material, or to be more precise the archaeological record, reflects *all* facets of material culture in exactly the same way. In other words: the archaeological record cannot be taken at face value. Due to environmental formation processes, certain aspects of material culture are likely to be well represented in archaeological contexts while others might be elusive¹. Frequently, for instance, our picture has been heavily distorted by the fact that artifacts in perishable materials are virtually absent from the archaeological record. Equally important are cultural formation processes, such as recycling and cultural deposition². It can often be observed that, by virtue of these processes, certain classes of artifacts are less likely to enter the material record than others. Metalwork circulating in settlements, for example, is generally underrepresented in the archaeological context because it was often removed during the abandonment of the habitation. In brief, material culture certainly reflects underlying cultural practices, but in studying these practices it is important to remember that we look at material culture through the lens of a fragmentary archaeological record.

Previous research has already addressed the scarcity of visual narrative in Archaic Crete suggesting various explanations. Angeliki Lebessi explained the lack of pictorial narrative with the absence of hero cults on the island: Songs for the heroes were not performed and figurative depictions of their deeds did therefore not emerge³. This model, however, disregards evidence from regions of the Greek mainland. In the Argolid, for example, hero cults began to develop from an early date onward⁴ but mythological scenes are notably rare throughout the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods – actually, they are even rarer in the Argolid than in Crete⁵. According to Lebessi, ancestor and hero cult did not emerge in Crete⁶

Dr. Oliver Pilz, Institut für Altertumswissenschaften – Klassische Archäologie, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, 55099 Mainz, Germany, opilz@uni-mainz.de

1 Schiffer 1996, 141–262.

2 Schiffer 1996, 25–140.

3 Λεμπέση 1987, 134 f.

4 Antonaccio 1995, 12–65; Boehringer 2001, 132–242.

5 Cf. Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 213 tab. 69.

6 However, as Lefèvre-Novaro (2005) has shown, evidence for ancestor or hero cults is not completely lacking in Geometric and Archaic Crete.

because the social structure of the Cretan communities was, in comparison with the situation on the mainland, more stable. As a result, members of the aristocratic elite had little need to rely on the mythical past in order to legitimize their status. This, in turn, was reflected by the limited number of mythological representations.

James Whitley, on the other hand, has insisted on the alleged minor importance of private symposia as the main reason for the scarcity of narrative imagery in Archaic Crete, concluding that “[n]arrative art probably failed to develop because symposium culture failed to develop.”⁷ Yet, Whitley’s view poses new questions rather than giving a proper explanation for the issue. This is not the place, however, to discuss at length the nature of private symposia in Crete; it should only be noted that there is, as Brice Erickson has shown, some evidence for more intimate forms of formal drinking in Late Archaic and Classical Crete⁸.

Katja Sporn recently revisited the argument from a different perspective⁹. Focusing on mythological scenes, Sporn differentiates between representations of common Greek myths (“allgemeingriechische Mythenbilder”) and imagery referring to myths associated with Crete (“Mythenbilder kretischer Thematik”)¹⁰. Even though the latter category is scarcely attested before the early 5th century BCE, it is rather unlikely that Cretans became more acquainted with myths located on their island only at this late stage. However, Sporn’s observation that imagery alluding to Cretan myths increased considerably with the beginning of coinage in Crete remains certainly valid. Similar to Lebessi, Sporn emphasized the ostensible equality within the Cretan elite impeding the aristocratic individual to emerge. In her view, it is the different structure of Cretan aristocracy that would account for the wide absence of mythological scenes in the first place¹¹. This might work for the Late Archaic and Classical periods, which are characterized by an increasingly austere material culture reflecting a strictly egalitarian ideology¹², but can hardly provide a model for the 7th century BCE when figural art was flourishing.

Reviewing the previous discussion, it has become clear that a more comprehensive approach is needed to address the issue. In some respect comparable to writing, the production of complex figured representations is a cultural practice affecting multiple spheres of human life. In this respect, it is interesting to note that both cultural practices, the use of writing and the production of visual narrative, reappeared after the end of the Bronze Age, roughly in the same period.

By investigating the *pictorial habit* in Archaic to Early Classical Crete, this paper aims to shed some new light on the scarcity of narrative imagery in these peri-

7 Whitley 2001, 251 f.; Whitley 2005, 48 f. (citation); Whitley 2009, 286.

8 Erickson 2010, 326–328; Erickson 2011, 388–391; see also Rabinowitz, this volume.

9 Sporn 2013.

10 Sporn (2013, 399) herself admits that only very few of these images are actually narrative scenes.

11 Sporn 2013, 405.

12 On Cretan austerity, see most recently Erickson 2010, 309–345. For the perception of the so-called Archaic Gap in recent research, see Erickson, this volume.

ods. The notion of “pictorial habit” is used to subsume under this term all aspects of the production and consumption of pictorial imagery, including relative frequency of appearance, media for distribution, and contexts of use and display. As a matter of principle, pictorial imagery in general and narrative scenes in particular should not be conceived as abstract phenomena but explicitly as products of craft production. A basic assumption of this approach is that the emergence of *prolific* pictorial styles is not only deeply rooted in the local craft traditions, but also depends on the complex interplay between supply and demand, between the purchasers/consumers, on the one hand, and the artisans producing the imagery, on the other. Existing trade networks, then, are supposed to further enhance the demand for figured imagery.

According to the model outlined above, an increasing demand for pictorial imagery is usually caused by social factors. In a recent case study concerning Late Geometric Attica, Klaus Junker has convincingly argued that complex figured imagery, including *prothesis* and fighting scenes, were not merely means of demonstrating social status, but served to secure and maintain the social position of members of the Attic aristocracy threatened by the profound socioeconomic changes occurring in this period¹³. Thus, it was these structural changes that actually gave impetus to the emergence of a prolific pictorial style in Attic vase-painting. Yet, it is important to note that the high standard of Attic craft tradition in producing and decorating clay vases enabled this process in the first place.

Before engaging in a detailed discussion of the Cretan pictorial habit, it is necessary to differentiate more precisely between *narrative* imagery and more simply structured figured scenes. Dealing with a broad definition of what an image is, it becomes clear that pictorial narrative already constitutes a specific case. Mythological scenes, then, can be seen as a subset of narrative imagery. As a matter of fact, it is not as easy as it might seem to provide a valid definition of the term “narrative imagery” beyond the common sense notion of a narrative scene as “telling a story.” Basing his argument on Roland Barthes’s structural analysis of literary narrative, Mark Stansbury-O’Donnell has suggested a framework for the discussion of pictorial narrative in ancient Greek art¹⁴. According to this framework, the hallmark of a narrative depiction is that a so-called *nucleus*, an essential action on which the narrative hinges, is present. In addition, this action must be open-ended, that means it is connected to a plausible sequence of events, which are not predetermined. Figured representations that do fulfill these basic criteria but cannot explicitly be associated with a known myth are termed “generic narrative.” Conversely, scenes not fulfilling the above-mentioned criteria might be termed “emblematic.” Emblematic representations frequently show heraldic compositions¹⁵.

¹³ Junker 2012b.

¹⁴ Stansbury-O’Donnell 1999, 13–17.

¹⁵ Hoffmann 1972, 34. See also Whitley 2005, 49.

Narrative Imagery in Geometric to Early Classical Crete

In Post-Minoan Crete, figured and even narrative scenes appear at a very early stage, in comparison with the Greek mainland. A bell krater from Teke tomb F in the Knossos North Cemetery dated to around 900 BCE shows a hunting scene spread out over both sides of the vase¹⁶. Nicolas Coldstream has convincingly linked this scene to similar depictions on Late Minoan *larnakes*¹⁷. According to the definition outlined above, the scene on the krater is a generic narrative: an essential *nucleus* is present (a hunter throwing a spear at an *agrimi*) and the depicted action is open-ended, that is to say not entailed or presupposed. Some other, more emblematic pictures can be noted in the subsequent Late Protogeometric and Protogeometric B phases, but figured scenes generally remain conspicuously rare on pottery.

In the Geometric and Orientalizing periods, the situation is not altogether different. The few more complex pictorial depictions generally appear on pottery from funerary contexts. A Late Geometric lid from Fortetsa shows a somewhat enigmatic scene possibly referring to a myth¹⁸. A Late Geometric/Early Orientalizing pyxis depicting fighting warriors was recently found in a burial site at Itanos in easternmost Crete but is still unpublished¹⁹. It is interesting to note that imports of pictorial style Attic and Euboean Late Geometric pottery occur in Kydonia in Western Crete but seem to remain scanty in other parts of the island²⁰. A fragmentary black-figure plate from a tomb in East Cretan Praisos probably depicts Peleus wrestling Thetis²¹. Its date has been highly disputed, but it might still belong to the 7th century BCE. In sum, despite their early appearance, narrative scenes are only rarely attested in Cretan vase painting throughout the Geometric and Archaic periods.

From around 800 BCE onward, metalwork became virtually more important than pottery as a medium for visual narrative. This is not the place to refer in detail to the narrative scenes on the so-called hunt shield from the Idaean Cave²² and the bronze belt from Fortetsa Tomb P²³, both dated to the second half of the 9th century BCE. Imports of metalwork, in particular of Phoenician and North Syrian bronze

¹⁶ Coldstream – Catling 1996, 8 no. 1 fig. 59 pl. 48.

¹⁷ Coldstream 2006, 161.

¹⁸ Brock 1957, 122 f. no. 1414; 164 pl. 107; Stampolidis 2011, 413–415 fig. 50; Kaiser 2013, 105. 153 fig. 44.

¹⁹ Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 2012, 319 f. fig. 9.

²⁰ Ανδρεαδάκη-Βλαζάκη 2004, 27. 28 figs. 8. 11 α.

²¹ Hopkinson 1903/1904; Blome 1982, 101 pl. 18, 4; Vollkommer 1994, 257 f. no. 78 with fig.

²² Kunze 1931, 8–12 no. 6 pls. 10–20; Blome 1982, 93–97 fig. 7 pl. 6.

²³ Brock 1957, 134 f. no. 1568 pl. 116. 169; Blome 1982, 78 f. pls. 2, 1; 3, 1; D'Acunto 2013, esp. 476–482.

bowls with embossed and engraved figural decoration²⁴, have certainly influenced the local production. The much-debated role of immigrant craftsmen cannot be discussed here²⁵. Instead, it is important to note that the tradition of decorating metalwork with narrative scenes continued into the Early Archaic period.

Cretan bronze armor from the 7th century shows, in addition to ornamental decoration and emblematic pictures, narrative imagery as well. A Cretan *mitra* from the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia most likely represents the killing of Klytaimnestra²⁶. A well-preserved Cretan open-faced helmet, which has only recently appeared on the New York art market, is decorated with four incised figured scenes, one of them clearly referring to a myth²⁷. In light of this evidence, it might seem inappropriate to speak of a “low degree of artistic ambition” with reference to the decoration of Cretan armor in general terms²⁸.

An open-faced helmet from Aphrati, now in Hamburg, has no pictorial decoration; yet an applique acquired with this helmet but belonging to another specimen shows an incised warrior. An applique of a very similar Cretan helmet found in the sanctuary of Polizzello in Central Sicily is likewise decorated with a warrior²⁹. Crest fragments of open-faced type helmets have recently been discovered in Crete at Azoria and Prinias³⁰. The crest fragment from Prinias was found in the destruction level of a large enclosure (“recinto”) immediately to the south of Temple B³¹. Similar to Temple B, this enclosure was accessible from the open area to the east, the so-called *Piazzale*. The Azoria crest was found in a storeroom belonging to a building complex referred to as the Communal Dining Building by the excavators³².

In contrast to pictorial style pottery, metalwork decorated with figured scenes was initially deposited in both funerary contexts and sanctuaries alike in the Geometric and Archaic periods. By around 600 BCE, however, the patterns of elite consumption have apparently changed and the deposition of metalwork seems to have

²⁴ E.g. Stampolidis 2004, 277 f. nos. 349, 350; 279 f. nos. 355–357 with figs; Matthäus 2011, 117–120 figs. 19–22. 24. 25.

²⁵ Hoffman 1997, esp. 3 n. 11; 13–17. 252 f.; Jones 2000, 120–122; Böhm 2001.

²⁶ Bartels 1967, 198–205 fig. 74 pls. 102–105; Hoffmann 1972, 26 pls. 46, 2; 47, 2; Blome 1982, 102–104 fig. 24. For other interpretations, see Walter-Καπούδη 1970 (Menelaus and Helen); Hampe 1981, 506 f. no. 52 (Paris and Helen); Prag 1985, 37 f. (uncertain subject); Kahil 1988, 521 no. 521 (Paris and Helen?).

²⁷ Sotheby's. Egyptian, Classical and Western Asiatic Antiquities. Auction Catalog New York, December 7, 2005 (New York 2005) 58–60 no. 54 with figs.; Christie's. Antiquities. Auction Catalog New York, June 10, 2010 (New York 2010) 47 no. 69 with figs.

²⁸ Whitley 2010, 179.

²⁹ Tanasi 2005; Palermo 2013.

³⁰ Azoria: Haggis et al. 2004, 373. 375 fig. 26; Haggis et al. 2011a, 15 f. figs. 7, 8; Prinias: Gigli Patanè 2005.

³¹ Gigli Patanè 2005, 205.

³² Haggis et al. 2011a, 4–16.

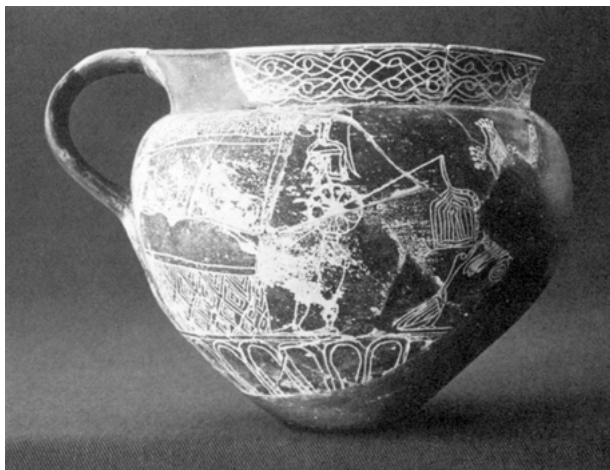


Fig. 1: Cup from Kommos

shifted to settlement contexts³³. A black-glazed drinking cup from the Kommos sanctuary (Fig. 1) dated to the third quarter of the 7th century is mentioned here, and not with the pottery, because both its shape and incised decoration were probably inspired by metalwork³⁴. Maria Shaw has interpreted what seems to be the main scene of the frieze as *prothesis*. However, in a recent paper, Fabio Caruso has proposed a reading of the scene as incubation³⁵. Neither interpretation is entirely satisfactory, but this is not the place to go into further detail. Other fragments of black-glazed vessels with incised figured decoration, for example a sherd of an oinochoe from the sanctuary of Athena at Gortyn, suggest that the Kommos cup was not an isolated piece³⁶. The one-handed cup with an offset rim is quite common in Central Crete in the 7th century³⁷. Its thin walls and black decoration suggest that the shape imitates contemporary bronze cups³⁸. In fact, the shape of a miniature one-handed bronze cup from the Idaean Cave, now in Oxford, closely corresponds to that of the Kommos cup except for having a slightly shorter lip³⁹. The exterior of the miniature

³³ Haggis et al. 2007, 303–305; Haggis et al. 2011a, 16.

³⁴ Shaw 1983, esp. 451 f. for the dependence on metalwork; Callaghan – Johnston 2000, 237 no. 240 pls. 4.9; 4.47.

³⁵ Caruso 2011.

³⁶ Shaw 1983, 449 f. fig. 4. Johannowsky 2002, 72 no. 477 pl. 43 assigns the sherd to a pyxis or situla.

³⁷ Moignard 1996, 457.

³⁸ Brock 1957, 167.

³⁹ Boardman 1961, 84 f. 87 no. 379 fig. 36 pl. 29 (early 7th century BCE). For an earlier full-size bronze cup of the same type from Eleutherna, see Stampolidis 2004, 275 no. 342 with fig. The presence of two further miniature one-handed bronze cups at Azoria (Haggis et al. 2011a, 31 f.

cup is decorated with three incised compass-drawn rosettes. In addition to the figured frieze, the Kommos cup also shows ornamental decoration on the rim and below the frieze. It is therefore possible that the cup from Kommos not only imitates the shape of metal prototypes but also the incised figurative scenes, which might have occasionally decorated bronze cups or other metal vases. Shaw has already noted that the occasional use of the double line, usually employed in the incised decoration of metalwork, points in the same direction⁴⁰.

Another major source of narrative imagery is coroplastic production, including mold-made terracotta relief plaques and relief appliques on large amphoras. Two types of Late Daedalic relief plaques from the sanctuary of Athena at the Acropolis of Gortyn represent Bellerophon fighting the Chimera⁴¹ and the murder of Agamemnon⁴² respectively. To the same period belongs a fragment of a relief amphora from Krousonas showing the killing of Klytaimnestra⁴³, a subject already known from the Cretan *mitra* dedicated in Olympia⁴⁴. The frieze is not taken from a mold but applied with a cylindrical stamp. A relief plaque from Phanes on Rhodes, now kept in the Collection of Classical Antiquities in Berlin, depicts a hoplite on the left fighting a female warrior, an amazon, on the right (Fig. 2)⁴⁵. For iconographic reasons the scene shows Achilles and Penthesilea rather than Theseus and Antiope. Either the plaque itself or its mold were probably produced in a Central Cretan workshop around 650/40 BCE. As we have seen, narrative scenes are not particularly rare in Central Crete during the second half of the 7th century BCE. Yet, after around 600 BCE, the production of new narrative imagery seems to have ceased in the central region of the island. This corresponds to a marked decline of material culture in the central part of the island from ca. 630 BCE onwards⁴⁶. Hartmut Matthäus has recently drawn attention to the numerous dedications of metal vessels in the Idaean Cave during the first half of the 6th century⁴⁷. Therefore, the above-noted shift in the deposition patterns of metalwork from sanctuaries to settlement contexts is not a general trend⁴⁸. It should be kept in mind, however, that the Idaean Cave, as the most important Cretan sanctuary, is an exceptional case. In

fig. 22; Haggis 2011b, 448 fig. 10) probably indicates a continuous use of their full-size prototypes as drinking vessels.

⁴⁰ Shaw 1983, 451.

⁴¹ Rizza – Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 182 no. 210 a fig. 376 pl. 32; Pilz 2011a, 263–265. 327 f. Go IV/18 pl. 29, 1.

⁴² Rizza – Santa Maria Scrinari 1968, 182 no. 212 a fig. 334 pl. 32; Pilz 2011a, 260–262. 327 Go IV/9 pl. 28, 1; Sporn 2013, 396 fig. 1.

⁴³ Λεμπέση 1987, 127 pl. 1 α. β; Λέκκα 1995; Simantoni-Bournia 2004, 37 f. Cf. Pilz 2011a, 262.

⁴⁴ See above n. 26.

⁴⁵ Pilz 2011b.

⁴⁶ Coldstream – Huxley 1999; Kotsonas 2002; Erickson 2010, 331–334.

⁴⁷ Matthäus 2011, 127 f. 130.

⁴⁸ See above n. 33.



Fig. 2: Terracotta relief plaque from Rhodes showing Achilles and Penthesileia

addition, the 6th-century metal vessels from the Idaean Cave are, as Matthäus has noted, for the most part not locally produced, but of Peloponnesian origin.

In Eastern Crete, a large votive deposit discovered at Sitia yielded several Daedalic plaques depicting a male figure abducting a woman on a chariot⁴⁹. Nikos Papadakis has tentatively interpreted the scene as the rape of Persephone⁵⁰. A plaque type occurring at Azoria and Sitia shows a male stabbing a female figure with a sword⁵¹, and it is quite likely that, here again, it is the killing of Klytaimnestra, which is being depicted. Even though the plaque from Azoria is only partially preserved, a Late Daedalic date for the type can be established based on the unpublished specimens from Sitia. In contrast to Central Crete, relief plaques with narrative scenes continued in Eastern Crete throughout the 6th century BCE. Several fragmentary plaques from Praisos and Lato probably represent single moldings from a larger frieze showing Pholos drawing wine from a large amphora and Herakles fighting the centaurs (Fig. 3)⁵².

⁴⁹ Παπαδάκης 1980, 65 fig. 5.

⁵⁰ Cf. Pilz 2011a, 268 f.

⁵¹ Azoria: Haggis et al. 2007, 271 f. fig. 22; Pilz 2011a, 263. 322 Az 1 pl. 28, 4.

⁵² Pilz 2011a, 265–268 pls. 30, 31, 1. 2.



Fig. 3: Reconstruction of a terracotta relief showing Herakles' Pholoe adventure



Fig. 4: Terracotta relief plaque from Eastern Crete showing the murder of Astyanax or a generic war scene

The original frieze is only about 12 cm tall and therefore seems too small to be used in an architectural context. The dating of these plaques is disputed, but a date in the first decades of the 6th century BCE seems most likely⁵³. An interesting plaque type from the second half of the 6th century BCE shows a warrior abducting a youth and appears in sanctuaries around Praisos⁵⁴. In addition, a single specimen was found at Lato⁵⁵. The traditional mythological interpretation has recently been rejected in favor of reading the scene as a ritual abduction⁵⁶. In 2002, Katja Sporn published three fragments of a plaque type from Eastern Crete showing the murder of Astyanax or a generic war scene (Fig. 4)⁵⁷. The type is difficult to date on stylistic grounds due to its fragmentary state of preservation. Nevertheless, a date in the late 6th or early 5th century BCE seems likely because of the characteristic pointed beard of the male figure on the left.

It has become clear that narrative imagery is not completely lacking in Eastern Crete after 600 BCE. Thus, when Whitley states that there is “In 6th-century Crete [...] no scene, with the possible exception of the Rethymnon *mitra*, of a complexity that could be labeled as ‘narrative’ [...]” he disregards the evidence from Eastern Crete. Let alone that the scene is emblematic rather than narrative, I see no convincing argument for down-dating the *mitra* from Rethymnon to the 6th century⁵⁸.

⁵³ Pilz 2011a, 267 f.

⁵⁴ Erickson 2009, 371 f. fig. 16. 17; Sporn 2013, 397 fig. 2.

⁵⁵ Horst 1996, 231 A11 fig. 249.

⁵⁶ Erickson 2009, 372–374.

⁵⁷ Sporn 2002, 50 pl. 23, 7; Sporn 2013, 397 fig. 3.

⁵⁸ Cf. Hoffmann 1972, 43; Blome 1982, 57. Generally for the dating of Cretan bronze armor, see Monaco 2006, 128 f.

The Cretan Pictorial Habit

As we have seen, the pictorial habit in Archaic Crete differed markedly from that of the leading centers of mainland Greece, that is Corinth, Athens, and Sparta. In the following discussion of the evidence, the focus lies again on complex figurative scenes. As a matter of fact, the amount of preserved narrative imagery produced in Crete is by far smaller compared with that of the mainland centers mentioned above. However, this picture is heavily distorted by the fact that pictorial narrative is almost completely lacking in Cretan vase painting. In fact, in Crete, narrative imagery is mostly associated with other media. Whereas on the mainland vase painting is the primary source of pictorial narrative, in Crete narrative imagery appears on mold-made plaques, bronze armor and relief amphoras. It is important to note that both terracotta plaques and the relief decoration of amphoras are, in contrast to vase paintings and metalwork, subject to mechanical reproduction by the use of molds or cylindrical stamps. With regard to the plaques, it is therefore likely that the same type was produced in serial production over an extended period of time. Yet, on stylistic grounds we are only able to determine the date of the prototype, which is the starting point of this production process⁵⁹. This implies, at least for Eastern Crete, that 7th-century plaque types might have been continuously produced well into the 6th century BCE. The same is true for the use of molds or cylindrical stamps for the decoration of relief amphoras.

Finally, the consumption patterns of narrative imagery in Crete are remarkably different from those in the above-mentioned mainland centers. Since Cretan terracotta relief plaques only very rarely occur outside sanctuaries, they were supposedly produced for votive use only⁶⁰. Relief amphoras, on the other hand, appear in both sanctuary and settlement contexts⁶¹. In addition, relief amphoras were frequently used for considerably long periods⁶². Consequently, narrative scenes occurring on relief amphoras are likely to have had a considerable visual impact. Essentially the same is true for bronze armor showing narrative imagery. With regard to the Aphrati hoard, a discrepancy has been noted between the dates of the decorated armor pieces established on stylistic grounds and the dating of the inscriptions based on the letter forms⁶³. Accordingly, a period of circulation may be assumed for the *mitrai*, corslets and helmets from Aphrati before they were inscribed and deposited, probably as war trophies, in what has convincingly been interpreted as an *andreion* by Didier Viviers⁶⁴. Literary and iconographic evidence indeed indi-

⁵⁹ For the occurrence of mold-made terracottas dated to the 7th century on stylistic grounds in an early 5th-century destruction context, see Haggis et al. 2011a, 37.

⁶⁰ Pilz 2011a, 101–186, esp. 179–186; 312 f.

⁶¹ Brisart 2009, 142–148.

⁶² Haggis et al. 2004, 354 n. 47; Brisart 2009, 144 and n. 29; Whitley 2011, 28–32.

⁶³ Bile 1988, 35 f. considers a 5th-century date for the inscriptions.

⁶⁴ Viviers 1994, 244–249. Cf. Brisart 2011, 266–268.

cates that both weapons and armor were displayed in dining rooms in the Archaic period⁶⁵.

The crest fragment from the Communal Dining Building at Azoria provides, as we have seen, further evidence for the display of bronze armor in a civic context. The fact that the Azoria crest comes from a Late Archaic destruction deposit might point to a long circulation or display of the helmet⁶⁶, given the late 7th-century (“Late Daedalic”) date established by Hoffmann for the applique in Hamburg belonging to a helmet of the same type⁶⁷. Similar to the crest fragment from Prinias, the Azoria crest also shows very fine incised ornamental decoration. One wonders whether the helmets they originally belonged to might have been adorned in a similar manner with figural scenes like the Cretan helmet on the art market. The bronze armor displayed in the Cretan *andreia* thus probably included “showpieces” decorated with narrative imagery similar to the helmet on the art market and the *mitra* from Olympia.

Due to cultural formation processes, metalwork is in general much less likely to survive in the archaeological record than other classes of artifacts. This might be even truer for metalwork circulating in settlements. In addition, Cretan funerary and sanctuary contexts of the Archaic and Classical periods are far better investigated archaeologically than settlements of the same periods. For these reasons, the few pieces of preserved Cretan bronze armor showing complex figural decoration probably represent only a tiny percentage of the *mitrai*, corslets and helmets with narrative scenes once in circulation. This idea is also supported by the eminent Cretan craft tradition of decorating metalwork with figured scenes which, in fact, reaches back, as we have seen, to the Geometric period.

James Whitley has noted a decline in the number of kraters in 6th-century pottery assemblages⁶⁸. Based on this evidence, Whitley suggested that Cretans were increasingly turning away from symposium culture in this period. However, pottery imitating metal vessels, namely the Kommos cup and the fragment of an oinochoe from Gortyn discussed above – notably both forms used for drinking or pouring – might indicate that bronze vessels including kraters played a much more important role in both communal and private drinking practices in Archaic Crete than previously assumed. Scattered finds of bronze handles and appliques from settlement contexts provide further evidence for this assumption⁶⁹. Moreover, referring back to the black-glazed pottery with incised decoration once again, it seems possible that some of the lost bronze vessels were decorated with complex figurative scenes.

⁶⁵ Brisart 2009, 146 n. 41 with further references.

⁶⁶ Cf. Haggis et al. 2011a, 15 f.

⁶⁷ Hoffmann 1972, 44.

⁶⁸ Whitley 2005, 47 f. tabs. 2, 3; Whitley 2009, 285. More cautious: Whitley 2010, 179 f.

⁶⁹ For a 6th-century bronze handle from Dreros with embossed decoration showing a winged youth, see Μαζωνάκη 1976; Sporn 2013, 401 f. fig. 5.

New archaeological evidence from Azoria might provide additional support for the assumption that the use of bronze vessels was indeed much more widespread than the scarce remains in Cretan settlement contexts would suggest. It has already been pointed out that the presence of bronze miniature cups may hint at the continuous use of their full-size prototypes as drinking vessels⁷⁰. In addition, a number of clay vessels and equipment, in particular kraters and stands, show marked skeuomorphic elements⁷¹. A striking example is an Early Orientalizing dinos from the Service Building, which clearly imitates a metal prototype⁷². The elaborate fenestrated stands, too, may well be reminiscent of metalwork⁷³. Found in considerable numbers in the Communal Dining Building, these stands probably served to support kraters and dinoi⁷⁴. Even though this would be unparalleled, it should not be excluded a priori that the stands supported bronze mixing vessels⁷⁵. Probably because most metal objects were removed during the abandonment of the settlement in the early 5th century BCE⁷⁶, the use of bronze vessels in drinking practices is virtually invisible archaeologically at Azoria. In the Service Building, however, a fragmentary Corinthian bronze *podaniptēr*, probably dating to late 6th or early 5th century, was found⁷⁷. The use of such shallow basins on a low tripod base is attested not only in connection with animal sacrifice but also, as a footbath, in the context of the symposium.

What remains to be determined is the relation between the different media narrative imagery is associated with in Archaic Crete. In connection with this, I shall also briefly examine the social setting in which visual narrative was consumed. In chronological terms, metalwork decorated with pictorial narrative clearly preceded the terracotta plaques showing narrative scenes. In the second half of the 7th century BCE, however, bronze armor and terracotta plaques showing narrative imagery co-existed. While typological and stylistic affinities imply that mold-made Cretan terracottas initially imitated ivory carvings⁷⁸, it can be assumed that the narrative scenes appearing on terracotta relief plaques were inspired by pictorial narrative associated with bronze armor. As prestige goods of considerable material and symbolic value, bronze *mitrai*, corslets, and helmets are closely associated with the aristocratic elite. Nevertheless, it would be simplistic to regard terracotta relief plaques merely as cheap votive offerings spreading imagery previously linked to the aristocratic sphere. Throughout the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, mold-made

⁷⁰ See above n. 39.

⁷¹ Haggis et al. 2007, 304.

⁷² Haggis et al. 2007, 274–276 fig. 24.

⁷³ Haggis et al. 2004, 379 f. fig. 38; Haggis et al. 2007, 255 fig. 9; Haggis et al. 2011a, 7. 14.

⁷⁴ Haggis et al. 2007, 263; Erickson 2010, 319. 329.

⁷⁵ Cf. Erickson 2010, 319.

⁷⁶ Haggis et al. 2011b, 438.

⁷⁷ Haggis et al. 2007, 291–293 fig. 38.

⁷⁸ Pilz 2009; Pilz 2011a, 70 f. 193 f. 204.

terracottas were predominately dedicated in important suburban sanctuaries⁷⁹. The fairly homogenous character of the votive material indicates that the rituals performed at these cult places fulfilled integrative functions by means of creating and reinforcing collective identities⁸⁰. In addition, the large amount of offerings usually found in these sanctuaries suggests that they were visited by larger portions of the population, probably including members of the leading social class. Consequently, relief plaques could have been dedicated by members of the aristocratic elite sticking to the votive practice at these cult places⁸¹.

This is not the place to fully discuss the possible social functions of narrative imagery in general and mythological scenes in particular⁸². It suffices to note that the mythological scenes examined above generally depict common Greek myths. This warns against ascribing any importance for the construction of local Cretan identities to the consumption of such imagery. However, the case is not as straightforward as it seems at first glance. In fact, it is striking that several scenes refer to the mythological tradition around Agamemnon and his son Orestes⁸³. Interestingly, Agamemnon is genealogically linked to Crete through his mother, the Cretan princess Aerope⁸⁴. An admittedly late source, Velleius Paterculus, states that Agamemnon, on his return from Troy, was driven by a storm to Crete and founded three cities there⁸⁵. In addition, according to Dictys Cretensis, the young Orestes was hosted in Crete by king Idomeneus after his father had been murdered⁸⁶. If all these references indeed reflect a much earlier Cretan tradition emphasizing the link between Crete and the Argolid, the frequency of scenes alluding to the myths of Agamemnon and Orestes would come as no surprise. At the same time, this specific case demonstrates that Sporn's clear-cut distinction between common Greek myths and myths associated with Crete is rather problematic.

It has become clear that narrative imagery is, at least with regard to Eastern Crete, actually not so rare after all in the 6th century. Nevertheless, the absence of figured vase painting, and consequently of narrative scenes on pottery, remains a conspicuous characteristic of the Cretan pictorial habit⁸⁷. In this regard, it is interesting to note that prolific pictorial styles in Archaic vase painting first emerged at two mainland centers, Athens and Corinth, which began exporting large amounts of pottery at an early stage. According to Junker, the emergence of narrative image-

⁷⁹ Pilz 2011a, 179–186.

⁸⁰ Prent 2005, 477–502.

⁸¹ Pilz 2011a, 185 f.

⁸² For a detailed assessment, see Hurwit 1985, 70; Hölscher 1999, 15–20; Junker 2012a, 187–196; Junker 2012b, 9–12.

⁸³ Davies 1969.

⁸⁴ Eur. Or. 17–18.

⁸⁵ Vell. Pat. 1, 1, 2.

⁸⁶ Dictys Cretensis 6, 2–3.

⁸⁷ Cf. Blome 1982, 41.

ry in Attica at the beginning of the Late Geometric period originated from a specific socioeconomic situation. Yet, the diffusion of Attic figural pottery through the existing trade networks is likely to have further increased the demand for vases decorated with narrative scenes. As a result, the production of Attic figural pottery probably gained further momentum. Even though Archaic Cretan pottery has been identified in Gela and the Cyrenaica, Crete *never* engaged in an extensive pottery export. On the other hand, imported figural pottery of Archaic date is largely absent in Crete⁸⁸. This, in turn, implies an essential lack of demand for pottery decorated with figured scenes. Instead, the Cretan aristocratic elite apparently preferred to consume narrative imagery including mythological scenes on bronze armor and, possibly, bronze vessels. Further demand for such imagery was satisfied by the production of terracotta relief plaques and relief amphoras showing narrative scenes. In brief, there was probably little stimulus from the demand side for a figured style in Cretan vase painting during the Archaic period.

Conclusion

The analysis of narrative scenes and their media has shown that the Archaic Cretan pictorial habit essentially differs from that of the leading centers on the Greek mainland. Whereas vase painting is a scarce source of visual narrative in Archaic Crete, complex figured scenes are mainly associated with mold-made terracotta plaques, relief amphoras and, importantly, bronze armor. In addition, bronze vessels as well, in particular cups and mixing bowls, might have occasionally been decorated with narrative imagery. In the case of both bronze armor and metal vessels, possible changes in deposition patterns of prestige goods, that is a shift from sanctuary and grave to settlement, the few excavated settlement contexts, and the low visibility of metalwork in the archaeological record may all account for the scarce preservation of pictorial narrative of Archaic date in the archaeological record. Limited archaeological visibility, however, does not necessarily correspond to a marked infrequency of complex figured scenes in the material culture of Archaic Crete. In fact, visual narrative was probably significantly more widespread than the relatively small number of preserved scenes would suggest.

This clearly has implications not only for the role of narrative imagery in the 7th century BCE, but also for assessing the phenomenon of an increasingly austere material culture in Crete from ca. 600 BCE onwards. The regional distribution of narrative scenes largely confirms the pattern emerging from the study of other aspects of 6th-century material culture. In the central part of the island, the production of new narrative imagery apparently ceased at the end of the 7th century BCE.

⁸⁸ Erickson 2010, 324 and n. 69.

It is likely, however, that visual narrative associated with relief amphoras and bronze armor was still readily accessible during the 6th century BCE due to the continuing circulation of these objects. In Eastern Crete, on the other hand, terracotta relief plaques decorated with narrative imagery seem to have been produced throughout the 6th century. This, in turn, corresponds with a much less pronounced pattern of austerity in the eastern part of Crete.

The consumption of visual narrative on bronze armor and possibly metal vessels used in drinking practices is closely linked to the aristocratic elite. During the later Archaic period, metalwork showing narrative scenes might have functioned as a means of status distinction between individuals or groups in the context of civic commensality. In addition, mold-made terracotta plaques showing narrative scenes clearly indicate an interest in such imagery also beyond the aristocratic sphere. These plaques were primarily deposited in suburban sanctuaries as personal votive offerings.

In sum, given the fact that the relative scarcity of narrative scenes is, to a considerable extent, caused by the idiosyncratic pictorial habit, especially the use of metalwork as medium, it would be fallacious to underestimate the significance of visual narrative in Archaic Crete.

Illustration Credit

Fig. 1: after Shaw 1983, pl. 61, 1

Fig. 2: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung (photo J. Laurentius)

Fig. 3: after Boardman 1961, fig. 42, with additions by F. Heubel

Fig. 4: after Sporn 2002, pl. 23, 7

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Thomas Brisart

Isolation, Austerity and Fancy Pottery. Acquiring and Using Overseas Imported Fine Wares in 6th- and 5th-Century Eastern Crete*

Our knowledge of 6th- and 5th-century Crete has appreciably expanded in the course of the last two decades. In several parts of the island, recent excavations and surveys have yielded quantities of data that were previously lacking for this period, notably in terms of urban and rural topography, as well as pottery sequences¹. An important aspect of those new excavations lies in the significant amounts of overseas imports many of them produced. On the one hand, the imports sharply contrast with the isolationist view which is, as we will see, traditionally attributed to the society and economy of Archaic and Classical Crete. On the other hand, these tend to soften the austerity in material culture that Cretan *poleis* are also usually credited with.

In this paper, I would like to explore the latter two issues a little further looking at the case of fine wares, the best documented class of overseas imports for the period under consideration. By “fine ware”, I mean thin-walled, black-glazed or painted pottery, mainly wine-drinking vessels and small oil containers. Moreover, I will focus on one part of the island in particular, Eastern Crete, the region east of the Lasithi Mountains, and this for two reasons. First, because new evidence there appears especially abundant and secondly, because the case of Western Crete has recently been discussed in detail by Brice Erickson, especially as regards Eleutherna².

1 6th- and 5th-Century Overseas Imported Fine Wares in Eastern Crete

Let us begin with an overview of the available evidence, starting with the city of Olous (Fig. 1)³. On the eastern coast of the peninsula facing the main settlement,

Dr. Thomas Brisart, Chargé de recherches au Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique de Belgique / Membre de l'École française d'Athènes, Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine, Université libre de Bruxelles, Av. Fr. D. Roosevelt, 50, 1050 Brussels, Belgium, tbrisart@ulb.ac.be

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1 See overviews in Sjögren 2003; Erickson 2010a; and Wallace 2011.

2 Erickson 2005; Erickson 2010a, Chapter 11 (as regards Erickson's works on overseas imports in Archaic and Classical Eleutherna, I always refer to those studies rather than to Erickson 2004).

3 I did not include the Anavlochos in this account, considering that it was situated north of the Lasithi Mountains. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the rim of a Corinthian perfume vase was

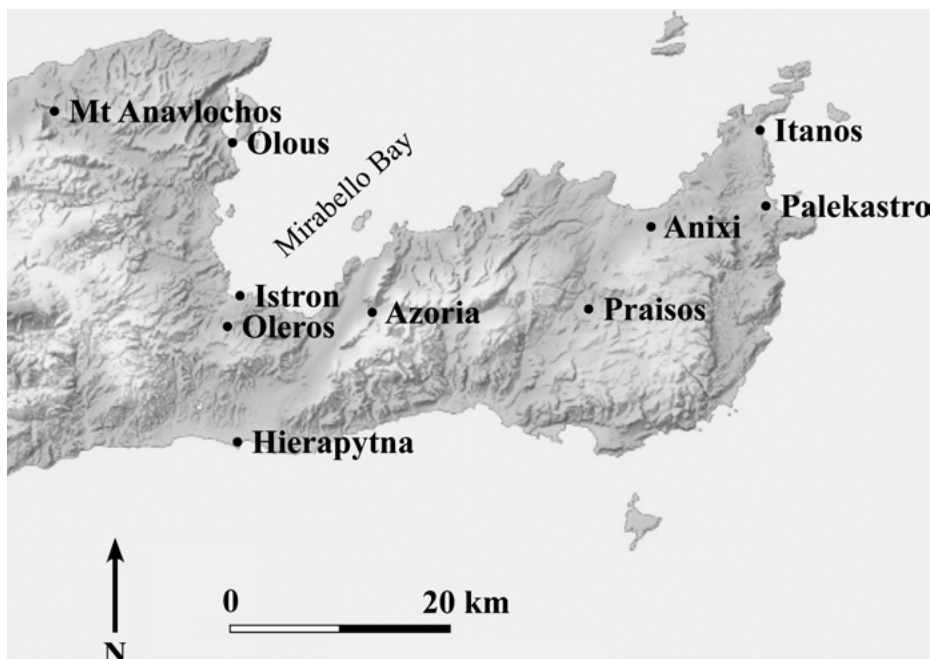


Fig. 1: Map of Eastern Crete, showing the main excavated sites of the 6th and 5th centuries BCE

Nikolaos Platon found several votive deposits that had been made inside natural hollows in the rock and were apparently associated with several architectural remains⁴. The finds, which are especially numerous (around a thousand items altogether), can be dated to the 7th, 6th and 5th centuries and consist mainly of terracotta figurines, lamps and pottery, both local and imported. The imported pottery has not been fully published yet, but a detailed account of the Corinthian and Attic vases with figured decoration was recently published by Stavroula Apostolakou and Vasiliki Zografaki⁵. Corinthian pieces with figured decoration consist of six aryballoi, a fragmentary kotyle and an oinochoe, all of them dated to the first half of the 6th century. Large amounts of Corinthian kotylai with linear decoration are also mentioned. Attic pieces with figured decoration include several black-figure cup-skyphoi and skyphoi, five black-figure kylikes with floral patterns, as well as

discovered in Kako Plaī among a deposit related to cult activities. This fragment has been attributed to an Early Corinthian alabastron by Metaxia Tsiopoulou. See Demargne 1931, 382 fig. 18, centre; Τσιποπούλου 1987, 263; Τσιποπούλου 2005, 40; Pilz – Krumme 2011, 329 fig. 13.

⁴ KretChron 14, 1960, 512; ADelt 16, 1960, Chron 259 f.; ADelt 33, 1978, Chron 385 pl. 199 α; ADelt 34, 1979, Chron 402 pl. 214 β. γ; Δαβάρας 1981, figs. 81–84; Αποστολάκου et al. 2010, 83. 91. 95–97. 100.

⁵ Αποστολάκου – Ζωγραφάκη 2006.

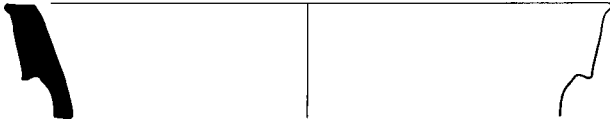


Fig. 2: Rim fragment from a Laconian krater, from the ash deposit in Priniatikos Pyrgos (Late Archaic)

a black-figure lekythos. Those pieces were dated from the last quarter of the 6th century to about 460. Athenian black-glaze and red-figure pottery is also mentioned. Finally, the same deposit produced several Cycladic cups with Sub-Geometric decoration dating to the 6th century⁶.

Further south on the coast of the Mirabello Bay, in the territory of ancient Istron, two spots recently yielded fragments of Archaic and Classical overseas imported pots. At Nisi Panteleimon, where the main settlement of the city probably stood, the Vrokastro survey team found a sherd that may have belonged to a 5th- or 4th-century Attic red-figure bell krater⁷. If no other certainly identified Classical import is mentioned in the report, Brice Erickson alludes to Attic imports dating to the Late Archaic period found in this area⁸. None of those fragments could be associated with a precise context.

On the small headland of Priniatikos Pyrgos, which was probably part of the Nisi Panteleimon settlement in Antiquity, the same survey team collected two fragments that seem to belong to 6th century Corinthian kotylai⁹. But subsequent excavations conducted on the site from 2005 until 2009 revealed far more. Although the results of those excavations have not been published yet, a preliminary report gives important insights into Late Archaic and Classical imported pottery discovered in 2005 and 2006¹⁰. Most of it seems to come from a large ashy deposit spread across trenches G2000 and G5000. This deposit yielded two bases of Corinthian kotyliskoi, two rims of Corinthian exaleiptra, a rim of Laconian krater (Fig. 2), nine bases of Attic skyphoi, a foot of Attic cup-skyphos, several other fragments of Attic cups, a complete Attic lamp and two fragments, and the rim of an Attic salt cellar. A few sherds of Attic black-figure pottery are also mentioned. Erikson dated all the vases to the Late Archaic period, but they were associated with large quantities of probably locally produced high-necked cups which appear to be of a slightly later date¹¹. As argued by Erickson, the high concentration of drinking vessels in the Priniatikos Pyrgos ash deposit suggests that we are confronted here with the re-

⁶ Mentioned in Erickson 2010a, 294 n. 126.

⁷ Hayden 2005, Pottery Catalogue 82 no. 2353.

⁸ Erickson 2010b, 343 n. 125.

⁹ Hayden 2005, Pottery Catalogue 61 f. nos. 2104. 2110.

¹⁰ Erickson 2010b.

¹¹ Erickson 2010b, 309–311. 342.

mains of one or several communal banquets¹². Late 6th- and 5th-century imports are reported in other parts of the excavation, namely a Corinthian kotyliskos with linear decoration, two further fragments of plain Laconian krater, and, from Attica, a red-figure fragment, the foot of a “Pheidias cup”, as well as a salt cellar and a lamp, both coated with black glaze¹³. But the nature of the contexts where those few further imports were found has not been specified yet.

Further inland, at the non-excavated cemetery of Prophitis Ilias, the Vrokastro survey publication reports a fragment of lip dated to the Archaic period that may have belonged to a Cycladic or East Greek cup¹⁴. This cemetery has been related to the settlement of Oleros, which may have been the centre of a small city-state during the period considered here¹⁵.

Further south, near modern Ierapetra, or ancient Hierapytna, an Attic 5th-century red-figure amphora was discovered by chance, most probably in a tomb¹⁶. Furthermore, archives dealing with the loss of several pieces stored in the Ierapetra museum during World War II mention a black-figure lekythos, certainly Athenian, as well as other vases that may be Archaic and Classical overseas imports. The vases had probably been collected in the area but unfortunately we lack precise knowledge of the context¹⁷.

Recent American excavations in the 6th- and early 5th-century settlement of Azoria, on the eastern side of the Mirabello, provided several extra-Cretan fine wares. Again, we have to wait for the final publication for a complete catalogue, but some data can already be gathered from the preliminary reports¹⁸. Let us begin with the “Communal Dining Building”. From the lower part of the complex, which was devoted to food storage and processing, the recovered objects included a Rhodian dish and a black-figure lekythos, a Cycladic cup with Sub-Geometric decoration of the same type as several cups from the Olous deposit (Fig. 3), as well as an Attic lekythos decorated using the Six’s technique, that is with added white on the black-glaze background. The vestibule that connected the lower and upper parts

¹² Erickson 2010b, 328–335.

¹³ Erickson 2010b, 320–328.

¹⁴ Hayden 2005, Pottery Catalogue 67 no. 2167.

¹⁵ Hayden 1995, 95–97. 139–142; Hayden 2004, 177. 191 f.

¹⁶ ADelt 27, 1972, Chron 647 pl. 602 α–γ. Cf. Papadakis 1986, 78–80 no. 522. Papadakis also mentions four Athenian red-figure *olpai*, one of which is illustrated and can be dated to the 4th century. Those vases could be from the same area as the amphora.

¹⁷ Papadakis 1997, 42 f. 60 f. One may also doubt whether the three black-figure vases mentioned in KretChron 7, 1953, 501 nos. 8. 9 as coming from Ierapetra are, as stated in the report, local productions, black-figure pottery production being almost non-existent in Archaic Crete. Cf. Erickson 2010a, 324.

¹⁸ Haggis et al. 2004; Haggis et al. 2007; Haggis et al. 2011a; Haggis et al. 2011b. Below is a list of artefacts clearly presented as imports in the reports, as well as all black-figure pieces, considering that they are more likely to be imports than local products (above).

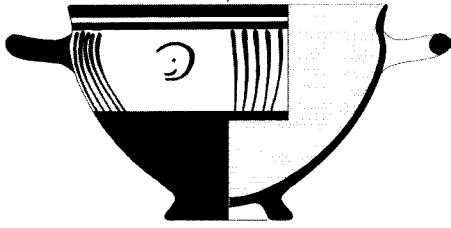


Fig. 3: Cycladic cup with Geometric decoration from the “Communal Dining Building” in Azoria (2nd half of the 6th century)

of the complex contained a fragment of Ionian cup with banded decoration¹⁹. In one of the kitchens of the “Service Building”, a “Samian lekythos”, an Attic black-figure lekythos, three Attic black-figure skyphoi and, probably from Attica as well, a black-glaze skyphos were found²⁰. Note that the whole “Service Building” has been interpreted as a space used for storing and processing the food intended for the communal meals hosted in the adjacent “Monumental Civic Building”²¹. From the small kitchen of the “Hearth Shrine” a lamp and an exaleiptron, both Attic, were recovered²². This small sanctuary also has to be related to the “Monumental Civic Building”, as both are connected by a small staircase²³. Finally, imports were recovered from what appear to be houses. From house B100 comes a fragment of Attic black-glaze kantharos, as well as a fragment with black-figure decoration²⁴. The storeroom of house B3200, B3400-B3600 yielded an Attic black-figure lekythos²⁵. In the main hall of the Northwest Building, a Laconian krater was recovered²⁶. From the kitchen of the Northeast House, there is a fragment of black-figure lekythos²⁷. And finally, the main hall of a house situated on the northern acropolis yielded a Laconian krater, an Attic black-glaze skyphos and a black-figure cup²⁸.

Let us now move a bit further to the east, to the territory of Praisos. In the sanctuary located on the third acropolis of the city, the “Altar Hill”, early 20th-century excavations led by the British School at Athens found an Athenian black-figure kylix of the Little Master class²⁹. But no other 6th- or 5th-century imported

¹⁹ Haggis et al. 2004, 377; Haggis et al. 2007, 258. 261 f.; Haggis et al. 2011a, 7.

²⁰ Haggis et al. 2007, 281–283.

²¹ See in particular Haggis et al. 2011a, 61 f.

²² Haggis et al. 2011a, 36.

²³ For the “Hearth Shrine”, see Haggis et al. 2011a, 28–38.

²⁴ Haggis et al. 2004, 358.

²⁵ Haggis et al. 2011b, 454.

²⁶ Haggis et al. 2011b, 447.

²⁷ Haggis et al. 2007, 250.

²⁸ Haggis et al. 2011b, 466.

²⁹ Bosanquet 1901/1902, 256.

pottery was reported in the area. More can be found in the necropolis situated southeast of the hill, which was also excavated during the early British campaign. In his publication, Marshall reports, in tomb 2, a small black-figure kylix; in tomb 3, a four-handled Corinthian vase, most probably an exaleiptron; in tombs 6, 10 and 13, several fragments of black-figure vases; in tombs 8, 12 and 18, unspecified black-figure toilet vases; in tomb 20, a Corinthian aryballos; in tomb 28, a small red-figure vase; and in tomb 31, a black-figure lekythos as well as an unspecified black-figure toilet vase³⁰. Even though Marshall does not always specify the origin of those vases, and despite the fact that East Crete appears to have produced a few imitations of Corinthian pots with linear decoration (below), it does not seem too adventurous to conclude that at least some of the vases were Corinthian and Attic imports and that most of them belonged to the 6th and 5th centuries.

Similar imports were also found in two nearby chamber tombs published by Robert Bosanquet. In tholos tomb A, the archaeologist mentions a Corinthian globular aryballos, what he calls a “plemochoe” – probably an exaleiptron – and two fragments of red-figure pottery³¹. Again, all the vases could have belonged to the period under consideration here. Actually, one of two red-figure sherds may be the krater fragment from the Peleus painter registered in Beazley’s ARV as coming from Praisos³². Note also that the globular aryballos could be the one published by Metaxia Tsiropoulou in her article on Corinthian and Corinthianizing pottery from Eastern Crete as coming from Bosanquet’s excavations, while the “plemochoe” could be one of the one-handled exaleiptra published in the same article as coming from the same excavations. Nevertheless, in the latter case, if this identification was correct, this vase should not be considered as a Corinthian import but rather as an imitation (following clay analysis)³³. Furthermore, in shaft grave C, Bosanquet reports a Corinthian four-handled exaleiptron, a shape that can certainly be associated with the late 7th and 6th centuries in the Corinthian repertoire³⁴. But, once again, this vase might be the four-handled exaleiptron published in Tsiropoulou’s above-mentioned article as coming from Bosanquet’s excavations in Praisos (however, a four-handled exaleiptron was also recovered in another tomb, see above), in which case it should be seen as Corinthianizing rather than Corinthian³⁵. It should be emphasized that

³⁰ Marshall 1905/1906.

³¹ Bosanquet 1901/1902, 240–245. For the tomb and its material, see also Hopkinson 1903/1904 and Whitley et al. 1999, 251.

³² ARV² 1038, 2. Cf. Valavanis 1990, 326 n. 5.

³³ Aryballos: Heraklion, Arch. Mus. H6248 – Exaleiptra: H2068 and H6641. See Τσιροπούλου 1987, 269 f. 272 f. = Τσιροπούλου 2005, 240. 259 f. 443 fig. 148 (see also 543–546 for clay analysis).

³⁴ Bosanquet speaks about a “very poor four-handled ‘Corinthian’ bowl”: Bosanquet 1901/1902, 248–251. For the chronology of the shape, see Amyx 1988, II 470–474. For tomb C and its material, see also Droop 1905/1906, 25–28 and Whitley et al. 1999, 251.

³⁵ Heraklion, Arch. Mus. H2067. See Τσιροπούλου 1987, 272 = Τσιροπούλου 2005, 258. 443. Note that Tsiropoulou also published a Corinthian alabastron apparently recovered in Eastern Crete, but

tombs A and C mainly yielded Geometric and Orientalizing pottery, which suggests that the above mentioned vases could be related to ancestor cult in Early Iron Age/Orientalizing collective tombs and not necessarily to burials³⁶.

Another exaleipteron should be added to this, which together with 6 other vases was found in a tomb in the Praisos area by chance and brought to the Ephoria in 1961³⁷, but once again, this may be an imitation rather than an actual import. Finally, the territory of Praisos yielded four Panathenaic amphorae belonging to the period considered here; three of the amphorae are almost complete and date to the very end of the 5th century, or a bit later (Fig. 4)³⁸, while the fourth example consists of only two fragments and can be dated slightly earlier³⁹. Two of the latest pieces come from a tomb⁴⁰, the third one has a provenance but cannot be associated with any archaeological feature⁴¹, while the earlier specimen could be from the “First Acropolis” but without any further information⁴².

Finally, concerted investigations conducted in the 1990s in the main settlement of the city of Itanos and its immediate surroundings, on the northeast tip of the island, yielded significant numbers of imported fine wares⁴³. The city appears to have imported a fair number of aryballoi, kotylai and exaleiptera from Corinth as well as Cycladic pottery including a cup with Sub-Geometric decoration dated to the second half of the 6th century, of the same type as examples found in Olous and Azoria (above). On the other hand, Attic imports have been described as successful and include 6th- and 5th-century black-glaze kylikes, and, from the latter part of the period under consideration here onwards, black-glaze skyphoi and salt cellars. Note also that the main find spots of the Archaic and Classical pottery from Itanos are a suburban sanctuary located on a hill at a place called Vamies (an Athenian black-

in this case no guess can be made regarding its context. See Τσιποπούλου 1987, 271 = Τσιποπούλου 2005, 260.

³⁶ Cf. Bosanquet 1901/1902, 242, contra Whitley et al. 1999, 251 n. 114. Note that Marshall 1905/1906 single tombs 28 and 31 also yielded material from various periods. Nevertheless, in this case, because the later artefacts constitute the majority of the assemblage, I would be inclined to consider the earlier objects as heirlooms, which accords quite well with the fact that we are dealing with jewels here.

³⁷ Ag. Nikolaos, Arch. Mus. AN1319. Τσιποπούλου 1987, 274 f. = Τσιποπούλου 2005, 269. 443.

³⁸ Bentz 1998, nos. 5.230; 5.249; 5.257. Cf. Valavanis 1990, 327–335.

³⁹ Bentz 1998, no. 5.197.

⁴⁰ Bentz 1998, nos 5.249. 5.257. Cf. Valavanis 1990, 326.

⁴¹ Valavanis 1990, 326.

⁴² Valavanis 1990, 326 n. 4 specifies that the remains of this amphora were accompanied by a note that he reads as “Fouilles Bosanquet, BSA 1901, n° P 2074, Aer. I”, which may be a misreading for *Fouilles Bosanquet, BSA 1901, n° P 2074, Acr. I*, Acr. standing for acropolis.

⁴³ Note that despite my own involvement in the study of the pottery from Itanos, I will confine myself here to data available in the preliminary reports of the excavations. An exhaustive picture of the imports and their contexts will be given by Athena Tsingarida and collaborators in the final publications.

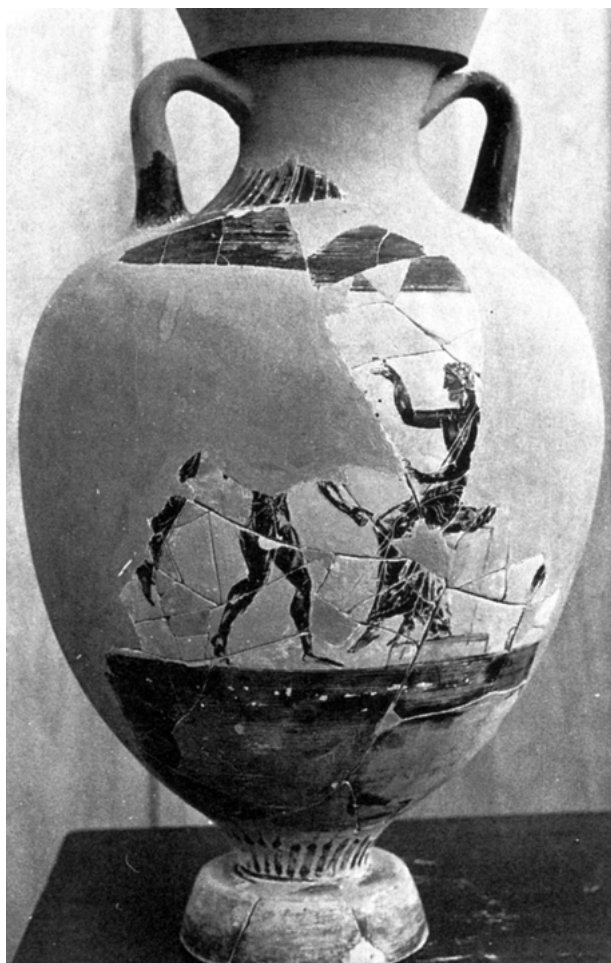


Fig. 4: Panathenaic amphora from Praisos (around 400). Unknown context. Cf. Bentz 1998, n° 5.230

figure skyphos from this area has been illustrated) and the north necropolis area⁴⁴. Regarding the latter sector, it has to be stressed that it does not seem to have yielded any 6th- or 5th-century tomb so far⁴⁵, while from the late 7th century until about the second quarter of the 5th century, the area hosted an important building, whose function was obviously special but remains unclear at this stage⁴⁶. Contexts of im-

⁴⁴ For all this, see Athena Tsingarida's preliminary report in BCH 123, 1999, Chron 525–527. On Vamies, see BCH 119, 1995, Chron 734; 120, 1996, Chron 950; 121, 1997, Chron 820–822; RA 2009, 219.

⁴⁵ See Didier Viviers in RA 2009, 209, contra Erickson 2010a, 250. 253. 256.

⁴⁶ As regards this building, see Didier Viviers's preliminary reports in BCH 120, 1996, Chron 944–946; 121, 1997, Chron 814–818; 122, 1998, 592–597; 124, 2000, Chron 549–555; 126, 2002, 581 f.; RA 2009, 208–212.

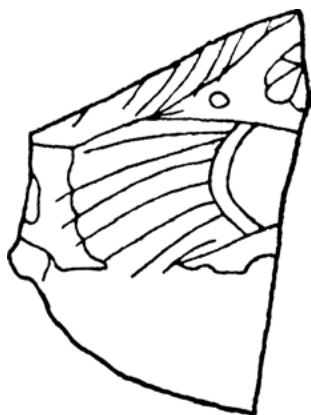


Fig. 5: Fragment from a Corinthian vase with black-figure decoration, from Itanos. 1st half of the 6th cent. Unknown context

ported fine wares will be specified in the final reports of the excavations. Note finally that a late 5th-/early 4th-century Athenian red-figure fragment was recovered in layers subjacent to a residential area of later date situated in the main settlement of the city⁴⁷, while a Corinthian black-figure fragment and a fragment of exaleiptron, possibly from Corinth as well, both published by Deshayes in 1951, may also come from the *asty*, with no further indication as regards the contexts (Fig. 5)⁴⁸.

2 Overseas Imports and the Cretan Economy

This set of evidence has important implications on the way we should conceive the economy of East Cretan *poleis* during the 6th and 5th centuries. Historians have often depicted Cretan city-states from this period as two-level societies, composed, on the one hand, of citizens spending most of their time training for war and feasting together, and, on the other hand, of various layers of dependent classes working the land estates of the former. As Angelos Chaniotis puts it, “the adequate economic system for such a social organization is a subsistence economy based on farming and animal husbandry.” But exchanges would have constituted a negligible component of the Cretan economy⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ BCH 123, 1999, 519–521 fig. 6.

⁴⁸ Deshayes 1951, 201. 207. 209 (incl. n. 5) fig. 3, 4 pl. 25, 5.

⁴⁹ Chaniotis 1999a, 182–186 (182 for the quote), with references to previous studies. Further bibliography is given in Erickson 2010a, 15 f.; Erickson 2010b, 339 f. (add Gehrke 1997; Davies 2005).

Nevertheless, recent advances in the field of epigraphy and archaeology have challenged this vision of Archaic and Classical economy as autarkic. As Paula Perlman has shown, epigraphic evidence for specialised craftsmen and workers, as well as references in the inscriptions to penalties and various transactions that could involve money indicates that exchanges played an important role in the Cretan city-states⁵⁰. And this seems to be valid for inter-*poleis* trade as well; for example, it is no longer a matter of doubt that Cretan fine wares travelled across the island⁵¹. And such movements were apparently not exceptional, as indicated by the mid-5th century treaty between Knossos and Tylisos, declaring the custom-free circulation of goods between the two cities⁵². But overseas exchanges as well seem to have occurred on a regular basis. Investigations made by Brice Erickson in the western part of the island, in particular for Eleutherna, clearly showed that West Cretan communities imported fine wares from overseas throughout the 6th century and during a big part of the 5th century⁵³. And, as the evidence presented above indicates, this was the case in Eastern Crete as well. If Cretan exports remain difficult to trace outside the island, it should be noted that Cretans may have traded perishable goods, as suggested in 5th-century Athenian literature⁵⁴.

Furthermore, imported wares shed light on the mechanisms of Cretan external trade. As demonstrated by Erickson, the abundance of Laconian pottery in Cythera, in Western Crete, in Cyrenaica, and in Naukratis, combined with evidence for Cretan pottery exports in Tocra, strongly suggest that an important trade route linking the Peloponnese and North Africa ran along the western coast of Crete and that several West Cretan cities may have served as ports of call for boats travelling this route⁵⁵. According to the ceramic record also, Eastern Crete would have been much more concerned with East Greek and Cycladic networks⁵⁶, and this is further reinforced when all kinds of imports dating to the 6th and 5th centuries are taken into account. First of all, Priniatikos Pyrgos and Azoria yielded significant numbers of transport amphorae from South Ionia and the northern Aegean⁵⁷. Furthermore, several sanc-

⁵⁰ Perlman 2004, esp. 104–108.

⁵¹ Erickson 2010a, 77–86. 185 f. 190. 196. 225; Erickson 2010b, 314. 318. 323. This may have been the case for common wares as well, cf. Erickson 2010b, 320.

⁵² IC I, viii 4* and I, xxx 1. See Viviers 1999, 221 f. for a discussion, as well as references to further editions, translations and commentaries. Viviers incorporates this testimony into a larger discussion on the increasing importance of trade for the economy of the Cretan *poleis* from the Archaic down to the Hellenistic period.

⁵³ Erickson 2005; Erickson 2010a, 273–308.

⁵⁴ Ath. 1, 27 e–28 a (citing Hermippos' *Phormophoroi*; Cretan timber); Ar. Thesm. 730 (mention of a garment labelled as “Cretan”). Cf. Erickson 2010a, 16 n. 75 (and 15–19 for further comments on Cretan isolation). See also discussion on Early Iron Age Crete in Jones 2000.

⁵⁵ Erickson 2005, 625–636; Erickson 2010a, 280–298.

⁵⁶ Above. Cf. Erickson 2010a, 233. 294 f.; Erickson 2010b, 341.

⁵⁷ Azoria: Haggis et al. 2007, 277. 280; Haggis et al. 2011a, 35 f. – Priniatikos Pyrgos: Erickson 2010b, 311. 341.



Fig. 6: 6th-century female protome of Samian type from the Olous deposit

tuaries in Eastern Crete yielded terracottas whose type (in the coroplastic sense of the word), and most probably production, are Cycladic and, more commonly, East Greek. This is the case at Praisos, at Pachlitzani Agriada, near Azoria, and, above all, in the Olous deposit. The latter yielded, amongst other East Greek terracottas, a whole range of protomai which, according to Francis Croissant's typology, were imported from Rhodes, Chios, Samos, Clazomenae, Aeolis and Paros (Fig. 6)⁵⁸. It

⁵⁸ Praisos: Barnett 1948, 17 f. fig. 16, cf. Forster 1901/1902, 278–280 (Mesamvrysi), and maybe Σοφιανοῦ 2010, 181 f. 186 fig. 3 (“First Acropolis”) – Pachlitzani Agriada: Αλεξίου 1956, 12. 14 f. pl. Γ, 3. – Olous: Croissant 1983, 40 no. 6 pl. 4 (Inv. 875); 70 no. 39 pl. 20; 86 no. 48 pl. 25 (Inv. 896); 91 no. 50–52 pls. 26. 27 (Inv. 762; 1310; 1311); 92 (Inv. 756); 111 n. 1. 2. no. 57 (Inv. 746–748); 142 no. 79 pl. 47; 161 no. 101 pl. 55 (Inv. 892); 162 n. 1 (Inv. 876. 893. 1304); 178 no. 111 pl. 60 (Inv. 1315); 227 no. 149 pl. 93 (Inv. 754). See also ADelt 33, 1978, 385 pl. 199, 1; 34, 1979, 402 pl. 214, 2; and Δαβάρας 1981, figs. 81. 82. Δαβάρας 1981, Figs. 83. 84 publishes other terracottas from the Olous deposit and qualifies them as “Rhodian”, but as in the case of Mesamvrysi and Pachlitzani Agriada, further investigations would be needed as regards their exact place of manufacture in the Islands or on the coast of Asia Minor. See also BCH 85, 1961, Chron 871 fig. 11. Alain Duplouy kindly informed me that similar extra-Cretan types/products had been recovered in the Vamies sanctuary in Itanos.



Fig. 7: Silver jewelry of Archaic date from the Praisos necropolis

must be added that the Orientalizing jewelry that was discovered in tombs 28 and 31 in Praisos, the former apparently dating to the 5th or 4th centuries, the latter to

Those will be published in the first volume of reports on archaeological investigations in Itanos, devoted to the survey of the *Hinterland* (ed. Alain Schnapp).

the 6th or 5th, vividly brings to mind discoveries made in the islands (Fig. 7)⁵⁹. However, this does not prevent some Peloponnesian imports, like clay kraters and bronze pins, from reaching Eastern Crete⁶⁰. Similarly to the case of Western Crete, both geographical considerations and the distribution of East Greek and Cycladic pottery in Eastern Crete, Cyrenaica and Egypt⁶¹ suggest that East Cretan harbours may have served as ports of call for boats travelling between the Aegean and North Africa⁶². Alternatively, Eastern Crete may also have served as a transshipment point.

3 Regulating Trade in Fine Wares?

If there is no doubt about the existence of overseas exchanges in Eastern Crete during the 6th and 5th centuries, the scale of such a trade and its implications for the local economy remain open to question. Given the current state of the literature, it is certainly too soon to quantify imports. Nevertheless, when precise figures are available, comparisons with other areas of the Greek world, for example the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia, will certainly help clarify this issue⁶³. But quantification is not the only way to approach the problem.

Austerity has long been recognised as a main feature of Cretan 6th- and 5th-century material culture, sharply contrasting with what can be observed on the island during the previous centuries⁶⁴. While previously taken as the sign of a general decline of Cretan city-states, recent studies have emphasized that this austerity should rather be seen as an institutional choice made to restrain individual ostentation and ensure cohesion among citizens⁶⁵. One can legitimately wonder to

⁵⁹ Marshall 1905/1906, 64–70. Marshall makes valuable parallels but a reappraisal of the material in the light of discoveries and research made since then (see Laffineur 1978) would be welcomed. Note also that, despite the very strong insular connections, we cannot exclude that some of those jewels may have been made in Crete, cf. Σταμπολίδης 1994, 120 f.

⁶⁰ For the kraters, see above. Haggis et al. 2007, 248 f. attribute a silver pin from Azoria to a Peloponnesian workshop, while Jacobsthal 1956, 24 f. considers the Praisos pins (cf. Marshall 1905/1906, 63 f. 68 f.) as Cretan.

⁶¹ For East Greek and Cycladic pottery in Eastern Crete, see above. A complete overview of the East Greek and Cycladic pottery from North Africa cannot be given here. See in particular Boardman – Hayes 1966; 1973; Schaus 1985; Möller 2000, 127–147. 241–261 and the numerous papers in Höckmann – Kreikenbom 2001; Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006.

⁶² As first pointed out to me by Athena Tsingarida regarding the case of Itanos and its links with Cyrenaican trade.

⁶³ As suggested to me by James Whitley.

⁶⁴ Overview in Erickson 2006, 69–79; and Erickson 2010a, 10–15.

⁶⁵ See for example Whitley 2001, 243–252; and Whitley 2005; Erickson 2006, 79–83; Erickson 2010a, chapters 10–12. I proposed elsewhere to trace the roots of the austerity policies back to the 7th century, see Brisart 2011, 312 f.



Fig. 8: Two Chian chalices from Tocra. 1st half of the 6th century

what extent such policies regarding material culture affected the prosperity of trade in luxury and semi-luxury items imported from abroad.

A careful examination of the nature and uses of imported fine wares may shed light on this issue. We saw that East Cretan cities may have sheltered Aegean merchant ships on their way to North Africa, while we know from much excavation data from Cyrenaica and Egypt that the boats carried significant amounts of Cycladic and East Greek Pottery, including mostly finely decorated vases (Fig. 8)⁶⁶. It is striking to note that Cretans, while acquiring some of those pots, exclusively chose plain or barely decorated vases, rather than pots with elaborate decoration. Those would therefore continue their way to more receptive clients in North Africa. This situation brings to mind what was happening at the same time in Western Crete, where boats trading between the Peloponnese and North Africa regularly stopped and sold part of their cargo (above). While the boats carried large quantities of Laconian pottery, both black-glaze and black-figure vases, Cretan purchasers carefully avoided finely decorated pieces, buying almost exclusively plain kraters⁶⁷. Going back to the case of Eastern Crete, we have seen that Corinthian and Attic pots with figured decoration were bought but most of the time they are of very poor workmanship, while, once again, much finer pieces often reached Africa⁶⁸, at least partially, one may infer, on trade routes running along the eastern coast of Crete. This situation could be explained by questions of taste and budget, but could

⁶⁶ Cf. Boardman – Hayes 1966; 1973; Schaus 1985; Höckmann – Kreikenbom 2001; Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006.

⁶⁷ Erickson 2005, 630 f.; Erickson 2010a, 56–63. 285 f. For a detailed account of Laconian pottery in North Africa, see Coudin 2009 recent synthesis, in particular chapters 1. 5, 149–151.

⁶⁸ See for instance examples published in Boardman – Hayes 1966; 1973.

also result, at least partly, from sumptuary regulations⁶⁹, a possibility one should maybe keep in mind when investigating other import patterns in the Greek world.

Occasionally, finer pieces could be imported⁷⁰, but contextual data available in Azoria suggest that the acquisition and use of these objects may have been carefully controlled. Excavations on the site clearly showed that imported fine wares may have been used both in private and public contexts, since they have been found in houses as well as in civic buildings intended for communal meals. Preliminary reports available raise the possibility that the imports may have been more abundant in public dining halls and related infrastructures (I could spot thirteen certain examples for two dining complexes) than in domestic areas (I could spot eight certain examples for eleven houses)⁷¹. In addition, imported fine wares do not seem to have been used as offerings in the settlement sanctuaries⁷². Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that many of the vases reported in the houses whose origins are not specified at this stage may also have been imports (one thinks in particular of black-glaze skyphoi and cup-skyphoi), while it should be remembered that we are not dealing here with exhaustive reports. We may be on safer grounds when assuming that public dining halls may have attracted the most valuable and conspicuous imports, as suggested by the fact that the Athenian lekythos in Six's technique comes from the "Communal Dining Building." Athenian lekythoi in Six's technique are rare items, especially in the Aegean; only about a hundred of them are known, while available data indicate that the vases were usually directed at Athens and Magna Graecia⁷³. This connection between rare imports and public contexts seems to be strengthened by the discovery of an elaborate Peloponnesian bronze tripod stand in the "Service Building", where items to be used in the "Monumental Civic Building" were stored⁷⁴. All in all, the acquisition and use of overseas imported fine wares in Azoria, as free and widespread as it seems at first glance, may have followed codes and proscriptions.

Some cities may have gone even further, as suggested by the case of Praisos. Among all the places where we know that Praisians gathered, only one seems to

69 On the simplicity of Cretan drinking equipment and its social implications, see also Erickson 2010a, 324–326.

70 Those include a black-figure krater reported in KretChron 7, 1953, Chron 501 no. 7 as coming from Axos but that was probably discovered in the vicinity of Agios Nikolaos, as Eva Tegou kindly informs me.

71 To the five above mentioned houses, add House B300 (Haggis et al. 2004, 352–356), House B200-B400 (Haggis et al. 2004, 361–363), the South-East Building (Haggis et al. 2007, 265–269), House B3700-B3900 (Haggis et al. 2011b, 458–463), House D1200-D1300 (Haggis et al. 2011b, 440–442) and House D800 (Haggis et al. 2011b, 442–444).

72 Cf. Haggis et al. 2007, 269–273; Haggis et al. 2011a, 28–38. This is also valid for the nearby sanctuary at Pachlitzani Agriada, where no imported pottery was found. Cf. KretChron 4, 1950, Chron 533; 5, 1951, Chron 442 f.; Αλεξίου 1956.

73 See Six 1888, esp. 210; and Burnett Grossman 1991, 13. 21–24.

74 Haggis et al. 2007, 291–293.

have produced imported pottery: the sanctuary of the Altar Hill, which, as I said, yielded a Little Master cup. But nothing is mentioned in the sanctuaries of the First Acropolis, Vaveli and Mesamvrysi, nor in the pottery deposit on Prophitis Ilias, which seems to have been related to a shrine⁷⁵. This remark is also valid for more distant sanctuaries that, according to the material they yielded, may have been part of Praisos territory during the period under consideration, in particular the sanctuary of Anixi in Roussa Ekklesia and the sanctuary of Diktaian Zeus in Palai-kastro⁷⁶. We can infer from this that in the city of Praisos imported fine ware did not figure among votives commonly offered to the gods. Furthermore, given the fact that several of the above-mentioned sanctuaries yielded strong evidence for drinking activities (see in particular Prophitis Ilias and Anixi) we may also think that such items were not used in public banquets either. But, as it has been said above, Praisians seem to have routinely relied on such imports for their burials, a realm that probably concerned families rather than the community⁷⁷. It remains unclear if the Archaic/Classical overseas imported pottery from tombs A and C belong to burials or were offered to ancestors, but the latter case is perfectly compatible with family/clan initiatives as well. One can conclude from this that even though Praisians could acquire luxurious and semi-luxurious items, use patterns suggest that regulations of some kind ensured that such possessions did not threaten the concern for apparent equality between citizens. In particular, overseas imported fine wares would only have been tolerated in contexts with low visibility, while less conspicuous items would have been required in the public sphere. Indeed, it seems to have been very important for the Praisians to appear strictly as equals in public contexts, all of them drinking with the same kind of vase (that is also, in the same way) when taking part in communal meals (Fig. 9)⁷⁸, and all of them offering the same kind of votives to the gods in the city sanctuaries⁷⁹.

⁷⁵ Full references are given in Sporn 2002, 43–45 and Prent 2005, 302–309. 340–350. For the Prophitis Ilias deposit, see also Erickson 2010a, 201–205, and for the recently excavated Cybele shrine on the “First Acropolis”, Σοφιανού 2010.

⁷⁶ Once again, full references in Sporn 2002, 45–49 and Prent 2005, 301 f. 350–353. For Anixi, see also Erickson 2009; 2010c. On the “sacred topography” of Praisos, see Whitley 2008.

⁷⁷ This tendency may not have been systematic, as suggested by two tombs at Ammoudoplaka, Agios Georgios, in the vicinity of the Praisos settlement and described as “Archaic”: KretChron 19, 1965, 283 (= ADelt 21, 1966, Chron 407). Further excavated contexts are needed in order to assess to what extent overseas imports were common items in the everyday life of the Praisians in the period under consideration.

⁷⁸ See in particular Erickson 2010a, 201–205 about the late 6th-century drinking vases from Prophitis Ilias I was referring to above, most probably to be associated with ritual drinking practices.

⁷⁹ The range of offerings at the sanctuaries of Vaveli and Anixi – hundreds of mould-made terracottas deriving from a very limited number of types – is especially revealing from that point of view, in particular as regards the Archaic period. For the Vaveli deposit, see synthesis (with references to widespread publications) in Sporn 2002, 43 f.; Prent 2005, 306–308; Pilz 2011, 106–108. 113–118. For Anixi, see Erickson 2009.

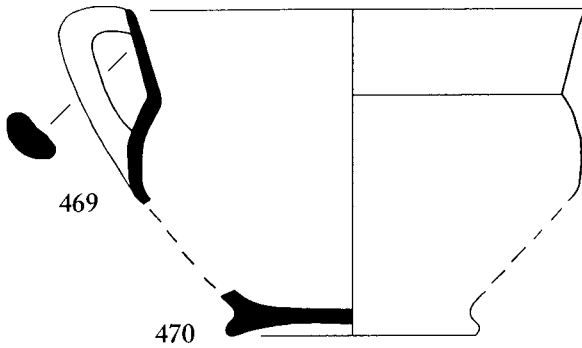


Fig. 9: Two fragments of 6th-cent. high-necked cups from Prophitis Ilias (Praisos)

Unfortunately, it is too soon to decide if consumption of imported overseas fine wares in Olous, Priniatikos Pyrgos, Oleros, Hierapytna and Itanos conforms to the patterns presented above. As it has been noted, Priniatikos Pyrgos yielded strong evidence for communal use of overseas imported drinking vases, while the fact that most of the imported pots from the Olous deposit consist of drinking vases rather than oil containers may indicate that they were used in public banquets. This suggests that those cities may have followed similar patterns as Azoria as regards the use of overseas imports, but more contexts are needed to validate this possibility⁸⁰. Conversely, the use of imported fine wares as burial offerings or implements in Oleros and Hierapytna evokes the case of Praisos but once again, more contexts are required. It is too soon to infer any pattern in the case of Itanos, as precise contexts of imported pottery have not yet been stated.

In conclusion, it can be said that the trade of overseas imported fine wares in Eastern Crete, though widespread, may have obeyed sumptuary rules of some kind. Especially valuable and remarkable vases seem to have been systematically avoided with very few exceptions, possibly acquired and used by the community rather than particular households, while some cities may have gone as far as restricting the use of overseas imported fine wares to very particular contexts. Such restrictions should not be downplayed when assessing the prosperity of trade in luxury and semi-luxury items in Eastern Crete. But, ambiguously, this further suggests that the volume of imported fine wares and other (semi-)luxury items should not

⁸⁰ The only other contexts that may date to the period considered here that we know of in Olous are two tholos tombs in Ammoudoplaka. They yielded no imports. See ADelt 21, 1966, Chron 407. As regards the sanctuary of Sta Lenika, in the vicinity of Olous, 6th- and 5th-century occupation is difficult to trace. See Sporn 2002, 68 f.; Prent 2005, 348 f., with references to the bibliography, including the reports. A bull bronze statuette of Archaic date is reported in BCH 61, 1937, Chron 474 but it could actually date earlier. See Pilali-Papasteriou 1985, 52. Nowicki 2000, 173 f. mentions Archaic/Classical occupation on Mount Oxa, the nature of which could nevertheless not be determined. As far as the case of Istron is concerned, no further contexts have been reported yet.

be considered as representative of other classes of imports, whose acquisition may have been less problematic for Cretan societies, something we should keep in mind when quantification is possible.

Illustration Credit

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